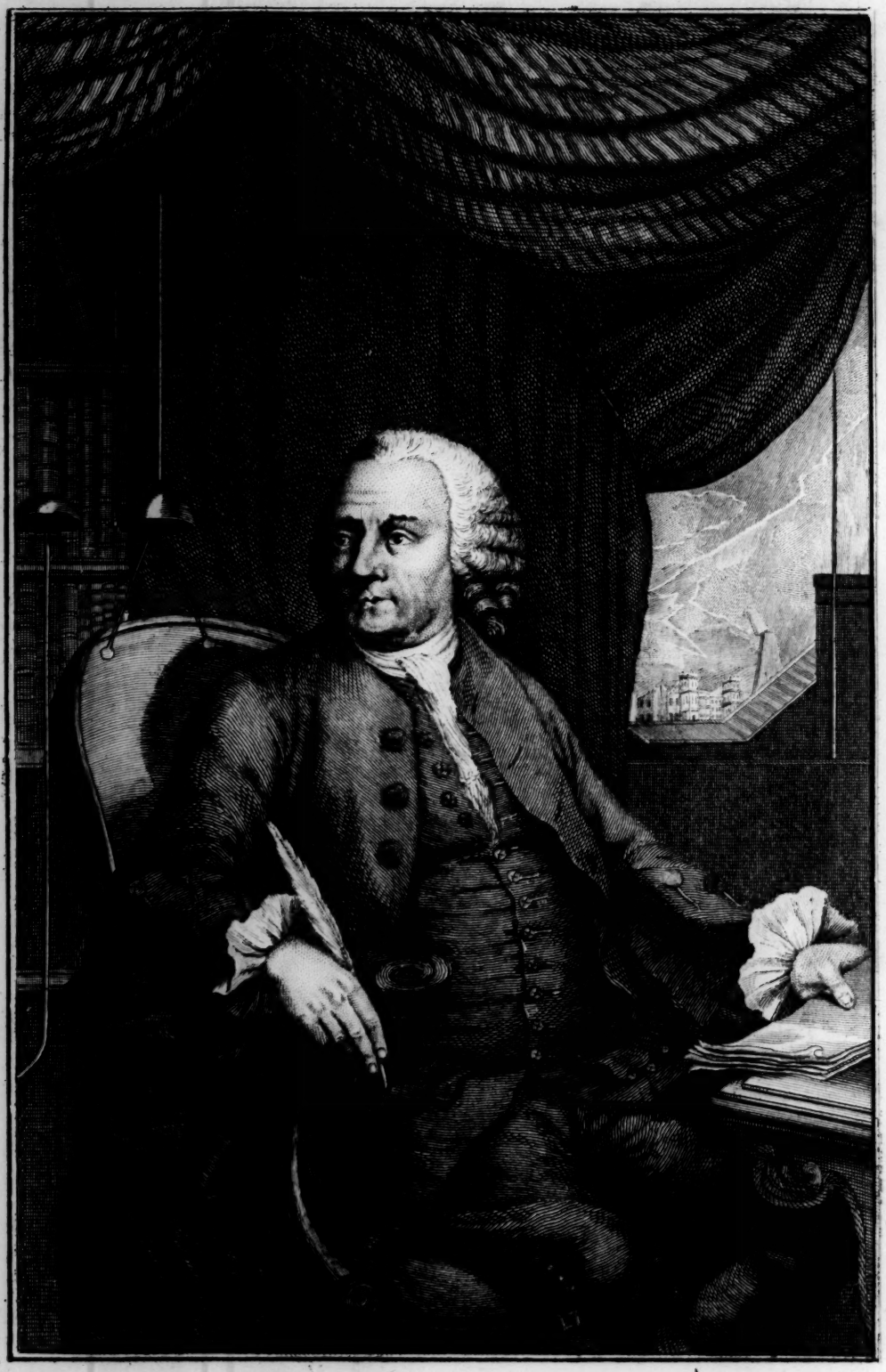

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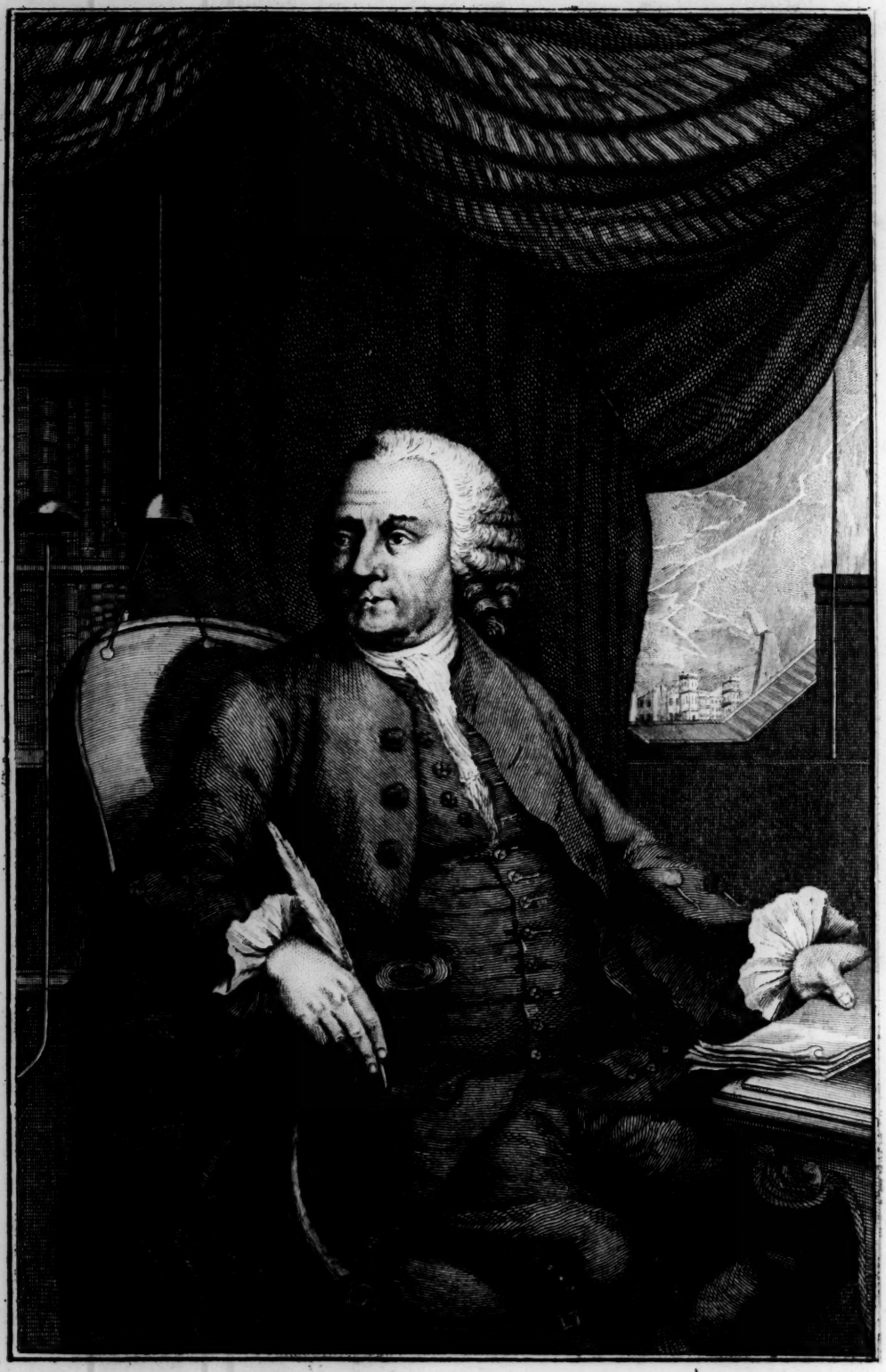

Dr. FRANKLIN.

M. T. CICERO'S

CATO MAJOR,

OR DISCOURSE ON

OLD AGE.

ADDRESSED TO

TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES.

BY BENJ. FRANKLIN, LL.D.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS Tranſlation of *Cicero*'s Tract *De Senectute*, was made ſeveral Years ſince, partly for the Tranſlator's own amuſement, but principally for the Entertainment of a neighbour then in his grand Climacteric; and the Notes were added ſolely on that Gentleman's Account, who was not well acquainted with the *Roman* Hiſtory and Language. Copies in MS. having been obtained by many, their Recommendation and Approbation of it, induced the Original Publication; as they thought it to be in itſelf at leaſt equal to any Tranſlation of the ſame Piece extant in the *Engliſh* Language, beſides the Advantage it has received of ſo many Notes, which at the ſame time clear up the Text, and are highly inſtructive and entertaining.

In the *Philadelphia* Edition the Introduction to the Reader cloſes with, "I ſhall add to theſe few Lines my hearty Wiſh, that this firſt Tranſlation of a *Claſſic* in this *Weſtern World*, may be followed with many others, and be a happy Omen, that Philadelphia ſhall become the Seat of the *American* Muſes.

Philadelphia. B. FRANKLIN.

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M. TULLIUS CICERO'S

DISCOURSE ON

OLD AGE.

ADDRESSED TO

(1) TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS.

SAY, Titus, if ſome ſovereign balm I find
To ſooth your cares, and calm your troubled mind,
Sha'n't I deſerve a fee?

For

(1) Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom this diſcourſe is addreſſed, was of an ancient family of Rome, of the Equeſtrian order, the ſecond in dignity amongſt the Romans. Of all Cicero's friends he appears to have

 been

For I may addreſs you, Atticus, in the ſame lines, in which the (2) poet,

In heart as great, as in his fortunes poor,

applied

been the moſt intimate and the moſt eſteemed: for of the 36 books now extant of Tully's epiſtles, there are no leſs than 16, compoſing a diſtinct tome, directed to Atticus alone. His character in life, as left us by his intimate friend Cornelius Nepos, may be juſtly accounted the moſt beautiful we have received from antiquity of either Greek or Roman. Nor does it appear to have been paralleled in any age: for tho' he lived in the times of the greateſt factions and diviſions in Rome, as thoſe of Sylla, Marius and Cinna, Cæſar and Pompey, Brutus and Caſſius, with Anthony, Lepidus and Octavius (afterwards Auguſtus,) he conducted himſelf with ſuch conſummate prudence and integrity, that tho' careſſed by all, he neither joined with, nor offended any of them. But being poſſeſſed of a vaſt eſtate, neither acquired on his part, nor improved by any lucrative meaſures whatſoever; for his patrimony was about the value of 160 thouſand pounds ſterling; and by the will of a ſurly uncle, whom none beſides could pleaſe, he received about 800 thouſand more, with many other legacies from his friends and admirers: of this vaſt eſtate, I ſay, beſides his annual expence on a genteel and hoſpitable, yet frugal table, he ſpent the greateſt part in relieving the diſtreſſed of every party (as each had their turns, Octavius excepted) without any other diſtinction than that of their worth and wants; and without any conditions or expectation of retribution. In his youth, to avoid being engaged by his friends in the contentions with Sylla, he retired to Athens, where he ſpent moſt of his time in ſtudy, and the income of his eſtate in public and private bene-

applied to (3) Flaminius: though I am fully aſſured, you are far from being in his condition, diſturb'd with thoughts,

That

factions; and became ſo dear to the people there, that they almoſt adored him; yet he would never allow them to erect ſo much as one ſtatue to his honour, though it was their conſtant practice to all ſuch as deſerved well of their ſtate. From hence it was he took the name of Atticus (or Athenian, for ſo the word imports) here alluded to by Cicero. But his life may be read more at large in the mentioned author Cornelius Nepos, now in Engliſh. I ſhall therefore only add, that he was about two years older than Cicero, but ſurvived him twelve years, dying in his 78th year, in the 722nd after the building of Rome, and about 30 years before the birth of Our Saviour; Cicero being put to death by M. Anthony's order, in his 64th year, and in the 710th of Rome. That his ſiſter was married to Quintus Cicero, brother to the author; his daughter to the emperor Auguſtus's great friend and favourite M. Agrippa, whoſe daughter by her was the firſt and the beloved wife of Auguſtus's ſucceſſor the emperor Tiberius; but he was obliged to part with her, to marry his father-in-law Auguſtus's daughter, the infamous Julia. I ſhall, in relation to both Cicero and Atticus, add a ſentence of Seneca's, in his 21ſt epiſtle to Lucilius. "Cicero's epiſtles (ſays he) will "not ſuffer Atticus's name to die. His ſon-in-law "Agrippa, his grand-ſon-in-law Tiberius, or his "grand-nephew Druſus Cæſar, would have availed "him nothing; amongſt all thoſe great names and af-"finities he would not have been remembred, had not "Cicero grafted him into his own fame." Yet Atticus wrote ſome valuable books himſelf, but they are all loſt.

(2) Ennius, born in Calabria, now part of the king-

That wrung his ſoul the live-long nights and days.

For I well know the evenneſs and juſt compoſure of yours, and that you took not only your name from Athens, but alſo brought home with you thoſe nobler improvements, the

dom of Naples, under the conſuls Q. Valerius and C. Mamilius, in the 515th year of Rome, as A. Gellius from Varro informs us; went to live in the iſland Sardinia, to which Marcus Cato, the ſpeaker in this tract, being ſent Prætor, and becoming acquainted with Ennius, he there began to learn Greek of him, and on his return brought him to Rome; which, Nepos ſays, was an act of greater importance than a triumph. He wrote the annals of Rome in verſe, which, tho' highly valued by the Romans, and often quoted by Cicero, are now, excepting ſome fragments, entirely loſt. He is more particularly mentioned again in this diſcourſe.

(3) Titus Quinctius Flaminius, who, when conſul in the year of Rome 556, overcame Philip, the laſt king of that name, and the laſt but one of Macedon; after which, at the great ſolemnity of the Iſthmian games that then enſued, and at which there was a general concourſe from all the neighbouring parts and countries, he by public proclamation reſtored to the ſeveral ſtates of Greece their ancient liberties, after they had been deprived of them, and continued in ſubjection to others, but principally to the kings of Macedon, above 120 years. This conqueſt, with his other actions, added greatly to the former luſtre of his family, but it received a ſevere blow from this Cato, the principal ſpeaker here; who, when he was cenſor, by virtue

the moſt conſummate prudence and humanity. And yet, to be free with you, I cannot but think you are ſometimes touched with the ſame pains at heart, that, I aſſure you, deeply affect me. (4) But theſe are matters of a more important weight, that require

virtue of that office, degraded Titus's brother Lucius Flaminius, who had alſo been conſul, and bore other high offices, from his place in the ſenate; which is mentioned further on in this diſcourſe, as by Cato himſelf, and the whole ſtory is there given more particularly. [See note 63.] His life may be read at large amongſt thoſe of Plutarch.

(4) From the late revolution in the ſtate, by the uſurpation of Julius Cæſar, who, without any other right or pretence to it, than that of the power of his army, the ſubjects as well as himſelf of the commonwealth, inſtead of obeying the ſenate's order to diſband, he made war on his native country, purſued Pompey, who commanded the army of the ſenate, into Greece, and at Pharſalia in Theſſaly intirely routed him; made himſelf, on his return to Rome, perpetual and abſolute dictator, and became the firſt of the Roman emperors. For tho' about three years after, by the conſpiracy of Brutus, Caſſius and others, in hopes of recovering their liberties, he was ſtabbed in the Senate-Houſe; yet his Siſter Julia's grandſon Octavius, a youth then but of about 18 years, whom he had by will made his heir, found means to get into the ſame ſeat, and cloath himſelf with the ſame power; and from him it was continued (tho' only for four ſucceſſions in his own, or rather in his wife Livia's family, who all proved tyrants, and two of the four, Caligula and Nero,

require arguments from a deeper fund to ſupport us under them; which may hereafter be applied to them. The ſubject I have now choſe to write on, is OLD AGE; which, as it is advancing on us both, and in a little time muſt unavoidably ſeize us, I would look out, and endeavour to find the beſt and ſureſt means, to make the burthen of it ſit as eaſy on us as poſſible. Though for your part, I am well aſſured, that as you bear

meer monſters of cruelty) till Rome itſelf became a prey to the Goths, or other northern nations. But on mentioning this firſt of the Roman emperors, it may not be amiſs here to obſerve of him, that tho' he was a perſon of the ſublimeſt genius, adorned with every accompliſhment of nature or art, and not at all of a cruel diſpoſition, but on the contrary of a temper truly clement and generous; yet by the iniquity of the times, he ſeemed to have been ſent into the world for the deſtruction of mankind: for Pliny, after a moſt exalted character of his abilities [*Nat. Hiſt. l.* 7. *c.* 25.] tells us, that he himſelf acknowledged he had in his wars deſtroyed the lives of 1,192,000 men, excluſive of theſe that fell in thoſe horrid civil wars he engaged his country in; for which Lipſius, on mentioning this, [*De conſtantia, lib.* 2. *c.* 22.] juſtly calls him, *Peſtem perniciemque generis humani*, The peſt and plague of human kind. And tho' the numbers of thoſe that fell in their civil contentions are not mentioned, yet they may be gueſſed at, by comparing the two laſt cenſus taken of

bear all accidents and events with the greateſt firmneſs and moderation; ſo you will equally diſpenſe with all the inconveniences that can attend this ſtate. But as I reſolved to write on the ſubject, you (Atticus) of all men appeared to me the moſt worthy and proper to direct it to; for being made yours, we may in common apply it to our uſe together. (5) And as to my own part in it, I muſt own, the thoughts that flowed on me from the ſubject, in compoſing it, proved ſo entertaining and delightful to me, while about

of the men of Rome, that are mentioned by Livy in the epitomes of his books ſtill extant; for 'tis noted in that of his 98th book, in the 682d year of the city, that the number was no leſs than 450 thouſand men, but in the year 706, on Cæſar's return from his victory over Pompey, the number was reduced to 150 thouſand; ſo that the city of Rome alone, and chiefly by theſe contentions, loſt two full thirds of her people, and ſhe ſtill continued to loſe by the enſuing wars after Cæſar's death, carried on by Octavius (afterwards Auguſtus) and Anthony, againſt Brutus and Caſſius, &c.

(5) In what year of his life Cicero wrote this excellent little tract, does not clearly appear. He was born in the 647th year of Rome; J. Cæſar made himſelf maſter of the empire after his return from Ægypt in the 706th year; after which, Cicero wrote moſt of his philoſophical diſcourſes. From his preface to his

about it, that they have not only diveſted the proſpect of old age, now before us, of every thing ſhocking or frightful, but they have rendered my expectations of it even agreeable and comfortable. Which leads me to ſay, we can never ſufficiently admire the excellency of philoſophy; to whoſe dictates whoever ſubmits, he will never find himſelf at a loſs in any ſtage or condition of life, to render it not only ſupportable, but eaſy. But on other philoſophical ſubjects I have already wrote ſeveral tracts, and ſhall ſtill continue to write. This on Old Age (as I have ſaid) comes to you. I chooſe

2d book *De divinatione*, we find, that this was compoſed after his *Academics*, his books *De finibus*, his *Tuſculan queſtions*, and thoſe *De natura deorum:* and from the ſame and other hints we alſo learn, that it was wrote before thoſe *De divinatione*, his *Lælius*, or *Of friendſhip*, his excellent *Offices*, and his book *De fato*; all which we find were wrote after Cæſar's death. [Vide his preface to *Lælius*, *De officiis*, *lib.* 2. and his preface to that *De fato.*] 'Tis therefore probable he wrote this in the laſt year of Cæſar's life, who was murdered on the *Ides* (the 15th day) of *March*, *A. U.* 709, that is in Cicero's 63d year. He was himſelf murdered in his 64th year, by order of M. Anthony, the next year after Cæſar's fall.

for

for my ſpeaker in it (not (6) Tithonus, as Ariſto of Chio laid his; for a fabulous perſon would take off from the weight of it; but) old (7) Marcus Cato; that the reſpect paid

(6) Tithonus was ſaid to be the ſon of Laomedon, king of Troy, of ſuch admirable beauty, that, according to the fictions of the poets, Aurora the goddeſs of the morning, fell in love with him. And of her he obtained that he might live very long; which he did to that degree, that wearing gradually away, he ſhrunk at length into a graſshopper. The moral of which is plain, *i. e.* That Tithonus was very comely in his youth, an early riſer, and regular in his life; that by theſe means he attained to a great old age, in which he ſtill preſerved his agility, but grew very thin, and became vaſtly altered from his former ſtate, when in his bloom.

(7) Marcus Porcius Cato] of which name there were two perſons very famous in the Roman hiſtory: and the lives of both are in Plutarch, an author now in the hands of moſt Engliſh readers of hiſtory. But of the eldeſt, who is the perſon intended here by Cicero, I ſhall add the following account from the great hiſtorian Livy, whoſe work is not yet ſo common in our language. In b. 39. c. 40. ſpeaking of the election of cenſors, in the 570th year of the city, for which there ſtood ſix candidates of the nobility, and as many of the commons, of whom Cato was one; (and he was perfectly *novus homo*, a new man; ſo they call thoſe of obſcure families who got offices in the ſtate; but new as he was, he had been conſul 11 years before, in the 36th of his age:) the hiſtorian, I ſay, having named the 12 candidates, proceeds thus: "But

paid to his name and character, may give the greater force and authority to what is ſaid. At this houſe I ſuppoſe (8) Scipio and Lælius

" But Marcus Porcius Cato had vaſtly the advantage " of them all, as well of the patricians as the plebeians " of the greateſt families." [For there were illuſtrious ones of the latter as well as of the former.] " This " man (ſays he) was maſter of ſuch natural abilities, " and of ſo much ſpirit, that where-ever he had been " born, he would have made his fortune. He was " ſkill'd in every art, both of public and private life, " and equally in affairs of both city and country. " Some have roſe by their knowledge in the law, others " by eloquence, and others by their military atchieve- " ments: but he was ſo equally qualified for them all, " that one would think him born to that alone, what- " ever it was, that he took in hand. As a ſoldier he " was brave, and ſignalized his courage in many en- " gagements; and when advanced to the higheſt poſts, " a no leſs conſummate general. In peace, when con- " ſulted in matters of right, he ſhewed the higheſt " ſkill; and in pleading a cauſe, no leſs eloquence. Nor " did this appear during his life only, as in thoſe whoſe " talents in that way flouriſh and die with them; for " his remain, and live conſecrated to futurity in his " writings of every kind; as his extant Orations, as " well in defence of himſelf, as both for and againſt " others, fully ſhew: for he gave his adverſaries work, " both by his impeachments and his vindications: " and indeed he was rather too much engaged in con- " tention: nor is it eaſy to ſay, whether the nobility " bore harder on him, or he on the nobility: for his " natural temper, it muſt be owned, was ſomewhat " of the harſheſt, and his tongue of the freeſt. But " then

Lælius to be met, expreſſing their wonder to the old man, how with ſuch eaſe and chearfulneſs he could ſupport the weight of his

" then he had a ſoul impenetrable to all the allure-
" ments of pleaſure; moſt rigidly honeſt and unble-
" miſhed, above courting the favour of men, and no
" leſs contemning riches. For parſimony, and for pa-
" tience in fatigues and in dangers, his conſtitution
" both of body and mind ſeemed firm as iron; and
" ſuch as even old-age, to which all things yield,
" could not break or ſubdue: for in his 86th year he
" had a public Oration in his own defence, which he
" alſo put in writing; and in his 90th he impleaded
" Servius Galba before the commons." Thus wrote Livy of Cato, above a hundred years after his death. From which character we may obſerve Cicero made a moſt proper choice of his ſpeaker, and the following diſcourſe will be found as juſtly to ſuit the character. Other particulars of his life will occur further on; [for ſome of which, ſee note 56, 71, 89, &c.] The word he alludes to for his name, is *Catus*, which ſignifies *circumſpect*, *cautious*, *cunning*.-----The other of the ſame name was his great grandſon, by his ſon, Marcus and Tertia, Paulus Æmilius's daughter, both mentioned hereafter, called Cato Junior, or Uticenſis from the place of his death; who for his virtues gained a greater reputation, and became more famous, even than his anceſtor; of whom (ſince his life, as I have ſaid, is in Plutarch) I ſhall here only give this ſhort character from Velleius Paterculus, an old Roman hiſtorian, who wrote about 75 years after his death; and in book 2. chap. 35, ſpeaks thus of him: " He
" was the very image of virtue itſelf; in his diſpoſition
" more like a god than man; who never did a good
" thing that he might be ſeen to do it, but becauſe he
" could not act otherwiſe; whoſe only rule in life was
" juſtice;

his years; to which he fully anſwers them. And if his language appear ſomewhat refined here, above what we meet with in his own

" juſtice; untoucht with any human vice, and " ever in himſelf ſuperior to every attack of fortune." I ſhall alſo further obſerve, that he is the principal hero of Lucan's Pharſalia, a poem never finiſhed, but generally wrote with a true ſpirit of liberty, even under the tyranny of Nero; but it coſt the author his life. In the 9th book of that poem, after a moſt beautiful character of that excellent great man, the poet concludes (according to the religion of that time, when Rome took upon it to people heaven with gods, as it now does with ſaints to be pray'd to) with thoſe moſt remarkable lines:

Ecce parens verus patriæ, digniſſimus aris
Roma tuis, per quem nunquam jurare pudebit,
Et quem ſi ſteteris unqam cervice ſolutâ
Tunc olim factura deum———

Thus Engliſhed by N. Rowe:

His country's father here, O Rome, behold,
Worthy thy temples, prieſts, and ſhrines of gold;
If e'er thou break thy lordly maſter's chain,
If liberty be e'er reſtored again,
Him thou ſhalt place in the divine abodes,
Swear by his holy name, and rank him with thy gods.

To avoid ſeeing the ſubverſion of the liberties of Rome, he kill'd himſelf, in the 49th year of his age. Livy Epit. lib. 114.

(8) Scipio and Lælius.] There were two pairs of illuſtrious Romans of theſe names, noted for their mutual friendſhip. The firſt flouriſhed in the time of, and acted very great parts in the 2d Punic or Carthaginian

own writings, I deſire it may be attributed to his learning Greek, and reading their authors; on which, 'tis well known, he ſpent much time and pains in his latter days. In this

ginian war: for this Scipio was the man, to whom Rome not only owed its own deliverance and ſafety, but nearly all her advantages and conqueſts over the Carthaginians; who, after they had brought that city to the very brink of ruin, were afterwards obliged, and principally by the conduct of Scipio, to ſubmit to hard conditions of peace; [ſee note 24 & 29.] for which he afterwards bore the name of Scipio Africanus, as the conqueror of Afric: and in all theſe actions Lælius was his almoſt inſeparable companion. But the pair of the ſame names here intended by Cicero, were two generations younger. This Scipio was the real ſon of the great Paulus Æmilius, whoſe life is amongſt thoſe of Plutarch, [ſee note 24.] but was, after the manner of the Romans, adopted by the ſon of the firſt great Scipio Africanus; who, being himſelf but of a weakly conſtitution of body for a ſon to ſucceed him, choſe one of that illuſtrious family of the Æmilii: hence laying down his paternal name, he, according to cuſtom, took that of the family he was grafted into; and afterwards, for his conqueſt and demolition of Carthage in the 3d Punic war [ſee note 29.] he alſo bore the name of Scipio Africanus; but to diſtinguiſh him from his grandfather, he was called Africanus Junior, and frequently from his own father's name, Scipio Æmilianus. He had alſo the title Numantinus given him, from his reduction, or more properly, the utter deſtruction, of the famous (the glorious) city of Numantia in Spain; in which, as brave a people as ever were known on earth, and who as little deſerve it, were utterly deſtroyed, men, women, and chil-

this diſcourſe, however, you have my own ſentiments on the ſubject, which I give you as follows; and thus they begin:

SCIPIO,

children; not in open battle, nor by taking the place by force: for the Romans durſt not engage them; but by hemming them in with greater numbers, and utterly ſtarving them. Yet this Scipio was in himſelf a moſt excellent perſon, and in all other reſpects, ſave in theſe two inhuman atchievements, the deſtruction of Carthage and of Numantia, which were done in obedience to the ſtate, and were in thoſe times accounted glorious; he appears to have deſerved the character given him by the before-mentioned Paterculus, l. 1. c. 12. which is this: "A man who equall'd the virtues of his grand-"father Scipio, and of his own father Paulus Æmilius; "who, for every accompliſhment, either for the ſword "or gown [war or peace] for his natural abilities, "and his vaſt improvements of theſe, was undoubtedly "the moſt eminent of his age; who, in the whole "courſe of his life, never did, ſpoke or thought a "thing that was not worthy of praiſe." But having oppoſed the party of that turbulent tribune Caius Gracchus, brother to his wife Sempronia, and grand-ſon to the firſt great Scipio Africanus before-mentioned, by his admired daughter Cornelia, and conſequently this Scipio's own firſt-couſin, as was ſhewn before by his adoption; after he had been waited on home in full health by the principal ſenators, he was the next morning found dead in his bed, ſtrangled as ſome thought, or, as others, poiſoned, and not without his wife's privity: nor was his death further inquired into; ſuch was the confuſion of the time. Thus ended that very great man, in the 56th year of his age, and in the 625th of the city. *Vell. Paterc. lib.* 2. *c.* 4. *& Liv. lib.* 59. *in Arg. & Freinſheim. Suppl.* But notwithſtanding all the oppor-

SCIPIO, LÆLIUS, AND CATO.

SCIPIO.

Our friend Lælius, and myſelf, Cato, greatly admiring your wiſdom and vaſt compaſs of knowledge in general, have been particularly wondering to ſee how very eaſily and chearfully you bear your age; for we can't perceive it gives you any manner of trouble; while we have obſerved others complaining of theirs, as if the burthen were unſupportable.

CATO.

Indeed, my friends, you place your wonder on a matter far below deſerving it, a buſineſs in which there is little or no diffi-

opportunities he had of enriching himſelf, we find by Aurelius Victor, that he died but poor, as Cato alſo did, ſee note 89.) which is a further proof of the integrity of both. Plutarch wrote the lives of both theſe Scipio's, but they are both loſt.

His friend Lælius, was Caius Lælius, ſurnamed Sapiens, the wiſe, who was conſul the 614th year of the city. Cicero taking occaſion from the known friendſhip between him and Scipio, makes him the chief ſpeaker (as Cato is here) in that other fine diſcourſe of his, which bears his name Lælius, on the ſubject of Friendſhip, wrote afterwards, and directed to to the ſame T. P. Atticus, with this.

culty

culty at all; provided proper meaſures be taken in it. For know this, that thoſe who have no aid or ſupport within themſelves, to render their lives eaſy, will find every ſtate irkſome: while ſuch as are convinced, they muſt owe their happineſs to themſelves, and that if they cannot find it in their own breaſt, they will never meet with it from abroad; will never conſider any thing as an evil, that is but a neceſſary effect of the eſtabliſhed order of nature; which old age moſt undoubtedly is. 'Tis certainly ſtrange, that while all men hope they may live to attain it, any ſhould find fault with it, when it comes to their ſhare. Yet ſuch is the levity, folly, and perverſeneſs of mankind, that we ſee there is nothing more common. But, Oh, they ſay, it has crept on us too faſt, and overtaken us ſooner than we thought or expected. In the firſt place, pray who put them on thinking wrong? How can they ſay, old age creeps faſter on manhood, than manhood ſucceedeth youth and childhood? Or how would it ſit lighter at the age of eight hundred years, if that were

were the term of it, than at eighty? For the longer duration of the preceding age, when once 'tis paſt, abates nothing from the effects of old age, when come; nor affords any relief againſt the follies and weakneſs of ſuch as ſink under it. Wherefore, if you have, as you ſay, admired my wiſdom, (which I wiſh were equal to your opinion of it, and that I truly merited the name I bear) I know nothing it conſiſts in more effectually than this, that I follow nature, my moſt excellent guide, as my God, and ſubmit to his power in all things; who if, thro' his conduct, all the preceding parts of life have been well performed, it is not probable, that he will ſuffer the laſt act, as 'tis common with bad poets, to wind up ill. But it was abſolutely neceſſary, that ſome term, ſome period, ſhould be ſet; and that, as it is with the fruits of trees, and of the earth, ſeaſons ſhould be allowed for their ſpringing, growing, ripening, and at laſt to drop. This wiſe men will ſubmit to, and chearful-

ly bear: nor could any thing elſe be meant by the ſtories told of the giants warring againſt the gods, than men's rebelling againſt nature and its laws.

LÆLIUS.

But, Cato, you would highly oblige us both (for I may venture to ſpeak for Scipio as well as myſelf, ſince we both hope, or doubtleſs wiſh at leaſt, to live to be old in our turn) if you would be pleaſed to inſtruct us before-hand, how, and by what methods, we may avoid the inconveniences that generally attend old age, ſo as to render it the more eaſy to us, when we reach it.

CATO.

With all my heart, Lælius, in caſe you both deſire it.

SCIPIO.

We both earneſtly deſire it, Cato, if not too troubleſome; for as you are now well advanced towards the end of a long journey, which we probably are to travel after you, we

we would gladly know of you, how you find it, in the ſtage you are arrived at.

CATO.

Well, I ſhall do my beſt to ſatisfy you. I have indeed been divers times in company with other old men, my equals, as you know the proverb, *Birds of a feather will flock together*; when they have been loud in their complaints of the inconveniences of old age; particularly (9) Caius Salinator and Spurius Albinus, men of conſular dignity; who uſed heavily to lament, that they had out-lived all the enjoyments in life, for which it was worth the living; and that they found themſelves ſlighted and forſaken by thoſe who had formerly followed them, and had treated them with the higheſt reſpect. But to me ſuch men appear to lay their charge entirely wrong; for if what they complained of, were owing only to

(9) Salinator was conſul in the 566th year, Albinus in the 568th, but Cato in the 559th year of the city. See note 17.

their years, the caſe muſt be the ſame with me, and all others of the like age: yet I have known ſeveral who have lived to be very old, without complaining at all; for they appeared not only eaſy, but pleaſed at their being delivered from the tyranny of their former youthful paſſions; and far from finding themſelves ſlighted, were ſtill honoured and revered by thoſe about them. But the true ground of ſuch complaints lies wholly in the manners of the men: for ſuch as take care to be neither peeviſh, humourſome, nor paſſionate in old age, will find it tolerable enough; but a perverſe temper, a fretful or an inhumane diſpoſition, will, where ever they prevail, render any ſtate of life whatſoever unhappy.

LÆLIUS.

That is very true, Cato, but may not ſome alledge, it is your eaſy circumſtances in life, with your power and dignity, that produce this happy effect, and render your old

old age in particular ſo eaſy; but theſe, you know, are articles that fall but to very few people's ſhare.

CATO.

I confeſs, Lælius, there may be ſomething in what you ſay: but the point lies not altogether there: for, as 'tis related of Themiſtocles, that a certain (10) Seriphian having on ſome difference told him, that if he was great, it was owing to the reputation of his country, and not to himſelf: 'Tis true indeed, replied Themiſtocles; if I had been born in Seriphos, I ſhould never have been great, nor would you, if you had been born an Athenian; ſo, much the ſame may be ſaid of old age; for 'tis certain, that to one oppreſſed with poverty, however otherwiſe qualified, old age can never prove eaſy: nor to a weak imprudent perſon, however rich, can it be otherwiſe than troubleſome. But the beſt armour of old age, Scipio and Læ-

(10) One of Seriphos, a ſmall barren iſland in the Ægean ſea.

lius, is a well-ſpent life preceding it; a life employed in the purſuit of uſeful knowledge, in honourable actions and the practice of virtue; in which he who labours to improve himſelf from his youth, will in age reap the happieſt fruits of them; not only becauſe theſe never leave a man, not even in the extremeſt old age; but becauſe a conſcience bearing witneſs that our life was well ſpent, together with the remembrance of paſt good actions, yields an unſpeakable comfort to the ſoul.

When I was a youth, I took a ſtrong affection for (11) Quintus Maximus, who recovered

(11) Quintus Fabius Maximus, who, after the Romans had in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles been defeated at the rivers Ticinus and Trebia, and the Thraſymene lake, by Annibal, was in the 537th year of Rome, appointed dictator or abſolute commander, an office that legally was to continue but ſix months, and for that time abrogated the power of the conſul and of all other magiſtrates, but that of the tribunes of the people, and of the lower ones, neceſſary for adminiſtring juſtice and keeping the peace; but under him his maſter of horſe had alſo a conſiderable power. In which time he kept Annibal at a bay; conſtantly declining, however provoked, to engage with him; tho' by the raſhneſs

covered Tarentum, tho' then well advanced in years, as if he had been my equal: for, there was in that great man, a ſolid gravity, tempered with an engaging ſweetneſs; which in his old age did not at all alter or abate. Yet he was not very old, tho' ſomewhat ſtricken, when I firſt applied myſelf to him; for he was (12) the firſt time conſul but the year after I was born, and in his fourth conſulate I was in the ſervice, tho' very (13) young, at Capua; the fifth year after this I

neſs of Minucius, his maſter of horſe, inveſted with too much power by the people, all had like to be loſt again; and after he laid down, the terrible battle of Cannæ was fought, wherein 80 ſenators and 45,000 of the Roman army fell. Two years after this, Fabius was the fourth time conſul, and after ſix years more, the fifth, *An. Urb.* 545.

(12) In the 521ſt year of Rome, 233 years before Chriſt, therefore Cato was born in the 520th.

(13) Twenty years of age.---A Quæſtor in the city was a treaſurer; in the army he took an account of, and received what was gain'd to the public from the enemy; kept liſts of the army, and took accounts of the ſlain on both ſides. The Ædile's buſineſs was to look after all buildings, public and private, weights and meaſures, to order the public games, &c. Prætors were the chief city-magiſtrates in Rome, and abroad were governors in civil-affairs.

went Queſtor to Tarentum, then I was made Ædile, and (14) four years after, Prætor, when Tuditanus and Cethegus were conſuls, and when Maximus, being then very old, (15) ſpoke for the (16) Cincian law againſt preſents and fees. He was alſo far in years when, continuing in arms as if he had been in his bloom, he commanded the army againſt Annibal, and by his patience and declining to fight, broke that general's meaſures, tho' then in his heat of youth triumphing on his vaſt ſucceſſes. Which our friend Ennius juſtly expreſſes in theſe lines;

One man our ſtate retriev'd by wiſe delays;
For he of blame regardleſs as of praiſe,

(14) At thirty years.

(15) When a law was propoſed, it was read publicly to the people, and then fixed up for three nundinæ, or 27 days; after which, the people being met, ſome perſon of authority (for it was not allowed to all) who approved of the law, beſides the propoſer, recommended it to the people, in a public ſpeech. This was called, *ſuadere legem*, and the ſpeaker, *ſuaſor legis*, as here this Fabius did for the law here mentioned, the year before he died, which was in the 551ſt of Rome, having (as *Liv. l.* 30. *c.* 26. hints, but gives it not as certain) borne the office of Augur for 62 years.

(16) A law propoſed by Marcus Cincius, the tribune, that thoſe who pleaded cauſes, ſhould take no fees nor rewards.

His

His country's ſafety only had in view:
Wherefore his fame ſtill more illuſtrious grew.

But how admirable was his vigilance, his ſkill and contrivance in the recovery of (17) Tarentum?

(17) Tareuntm or Tarentus, a great city, ſituate to the head of the great bay of that name, now Taranto, was ſurrendered to the conſul Papirius, in the year of Rome 482, two hundred ſeventy-two years before Chriſt, after Pyrrhus had left it, but with a garriſon of Epirotes in it; of whom the city being tired, ſubmitted to the Romans; by whom, for the abuſive treatment of their ambaſſadors about nine years before, they were then beſieged. In the 2d Punic war, in the 542d year of Rome, ſome conſpirators in the city, incenſed at their hoſtages being put to death in Rome, for attempting to make their eſcape, betrayed it to Annibal: which was very much owing to the negligence of Salinator, then governor of it. Livy, b. 25. tells the ſtory particularly, without mentioning or blaming the governor, whom he does not name; ſparing him probably in regard to his family: but Polybius, in the *Excerpta* we have of his 8th Book, is much more particular, and ſays he was drunk the evening of the night it was taken. For this reaſon it is, probably, and becauſe Spurius Albinus had gained ſo ill a character for his conduct in the army, that Cicero makes Cato mention theſe two particularly, in page 19 of this, to their diſadvantage. The words which Cato here ſays he heard Salinator himſelf utter, Plutarch in Cato's life ſays were ſpoke in the ſenate: he doubtleſs meant, that if he had not defended the caſtle (which he did bravely enough) Fabius could not have recovered the town. But that does not at all appear: it was regained much as it was loſt, *viz.* by treachery, but of a meaner ſort;

Tarentum? Upon which I remember, Salinator, who, having loſt the town, had fled into the caſtle, telling Fabius boaſtingly in my hearing, that if it had not been for him, he would not have gained Tarentum: 'Tis very true, replies Fabius, ſmiling, for if you had not loſt it, I ſhould not have recovered it. Nor did he excel in arms more than in civil affairs; for when conſul the ſecond time, his collegue Spurius Servilius refuſing to concern himſelf, he (18) reſolutely oppoſed Caius Flaminius, the tribune of the people, in his attempt to divide amongſt the commons the lands taken from the Piceni and Gauls. And tho' he was himſelf (19) Augur,

ſort; for it was betray'd by its governor's love to a young woman in the city, that had a brother in the Roman army, who under Fabius laid the plot. Annibal was the contriver of the firſt delivery, and Fabius of the ſecond; upon the news of which Annibal only dropt this expreſſion. "Well (ſays he) I ſee the Romans have alſo their Annibals." See Livy, b. 27. and Plutarch in the life of Fabius.

(18) The ſecond decad of Livy being loſt, this I think is no where elſe mentioned.

(19) The Romans were ſo exceedingly ſuperſtitious, that they would undertake nothing of moment without ſome previous divination. For this they had *augurs*, *auſpices* and *aruſpices* appointed. The *augurs* were

Augur, he freely declared, that the beſt auſpices were always to act for the good of the ſtate, and the worſt to act againſt it. Many were the excellencies I obſerved in that great man; but none with more wonder than his behaviour on the death of his ſon Marcus, a perſon of very great merit, who had alſo been conſul. I have by me the funeral oration he compoſed and delivered himſelf at his (20) funeral pile; which as often as I look on, I can ſcarce think even the greateſt of the philoſophers worthy to be compared to him. Nor was he great in public life only; for he excelled yet more in private, and within his own walls: how noble

were the chief, of whom there was a college, conſiſting at firſt, by Romulus's inſtitution, of only three, but afterwards gradually increaſed to nine, and under the Emperors, to fifteen. Their buſineſs was to pronounce good or ill luck from the flight or chirping or noiſe of birds; the feeding of chickens kept for that purpoſe, &c. For moſt groſs inſtances of this ſuperſtition of theirs, ſee Plutarch in the life of Marcellus, near the beginning.

(20) The dead bodies of the Romans were commonly burnt in a funeral pile, at which the neareſt friend of the deceaſed, if of note, made a funeral oration, which was generally a panegyric on the deceaſed and his family.

were his diſcourſes there! how inſtructive his precepts! What a vaſt knowledge of antiquity was he poſſeſſed of! How ſkilled in the laws, and in augury! For a Roman, he was very learned; and he had treaſured up in his memory, not only all the wars of Rome, but thoſe of other nations. And I was on all occaſions no leſs fond of hearing him ſpeak, than as I had been aſſured of what I then feared, and what has ſince accordingly proved too true; that when he was once taken from us, I ſhould never find another man to improve by.

But you may wonder, perhaps, that on this occaſion I ſhould run ſo largely into the praiſes of Fabius: 'tis on this view only, that from this account of him, you may be convinced, that it would be almoſt impious to imagine, the old age of a perſon, who thus acted and behaved to the laſt, can be eſteemed unhappy. 'Tis true, that all men can't be Scipio's or Fabius's, to have the pleaſure of reflecting on ſuch great actions in their paſt

life,

life, as their taking of towns, or their victories by land or ſea, and their triumphs for them. Nor is this at all neceſſary to man's happineſs: for a calm contemplative life, or a life well and virtuouſly ſpent in the juſt diſcharge of one's immediate duty in any ſtation, will ever be attended with a ſerenity of mind in old age: ſuch a life as we learn Plato led, who died at his ſtudies in the eighty-firſt year of his age: ſuch as that of Iſocrates, who is ſaid to have wrote his oration, called the (21) Panathenaic, in his ninety

(21) Iſocrates was contemporary with Socrates, Plato, &c. at Athens: he taught rhetoric or oratory in a private ſchool, and many of the greateſt men of the age were his ſcholars. This Panathenaic is one of his orations, which we have yet extant; it is by much the longeſt of them all; the ſubject is, the commendation of his countrymen the Athenians, and to prove their merit, in reſpect to the reſt of Greece, was greater than that of the Lacedemonians: towards the end of it he ſays, he then wanted but three years of a hundred: of which 'tis ſtrange, that neither his commentator Wolfius nor Fabricius have taken any notice, tho' they both quote this paſſage of Cicero for his age. [See note 43d towards the end.] Philoſtratus ſays, he died of grief, on hearing the Athenians had loſt the battle of Chæronea. (Which was fought againſt Philip of Macedon, Olympiad. 110. 3. the 415th year of Rome.) Gorgias was of Leontium in Sicily; he went about the cities of Greece, teaching the young men

ninety-fourth year, and to have lived five years after; whoſe maſter, Georgias of Leontium, lived one hundred and ſeven years, and till his death never left off his ſtudies. This man being aſked, how at ſuch an age he could think life deſirable, anſwered becauſe he had no reaſon to complain of life, nor did he feel any real inconveniency from age: an anſwer truly noble, and worthy of a great and learned ſoul. It is the weak and fooliſh only, who impute to old age what is purely owing to themſelves. Ennius, whom I juſt now quoted, was far from this; for in theſe lines,

As the ſwift racer, that has often run
Th' Olympic courſe, and oft the prize has won,
Reſts quiet in old age, when his fleet labour's done;

He

oratory, and the philoſophy of that time, for very high pay. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who offered to ſpeak extempore, to any ſubject that ſhould be propoſed to him. He was much honoured; tho' Plato, in a dialogue that bears his name, expoſes him for his preſumption. His ſtatue was erected of gold in the Pythian temple: *Pliny, lib.* 33. *c.* 4. ſays by himſelf, and at his own charge; but *Philoſtratus, Cicero, de Orat. lib.*

He compares his own old age to that of a noble race-horſe, which after his victories, was allowed to live at eaſe. But you cannot but remember the man himſelf; for now, under the late conſuls Titus Flaminius and Marcus Attilius, it is but nineteen years ſince his death, which happened in the conſulate of Marcius Philippus the ſecond time, and Servilus Cæpio; the ſame year that I, then ſixty-five years of age, with a firm clear voice, and full ſtrength of (22) ſides, ſpoke for and carried the (23) Voconian law. Ennius, then at the age of ſeventy years (for ſo long he lived) bore thoſe two heavy loads, as moſt men would account them, viz. age and poverty, in ſuch

lib. 3. and others, ſay it was done by the public. Pliny adds that it was erected in the 70th Olympiad. *i. e.* about the 254th year of Rome.

(22) By many paſſages in Cicero, and others of the ancients, we find ſtrength of ſides as well as voice, was abſolutely required in an orator; for they very properly uſed the word ſides, as we do lungs: I ſay, very properly, becauſe the lungs have in themſelves no manner of force; but their whole motion depends on the muſcles of the ſides and breaſt.

(23) The Voconian law was, that no woman ſhould enjoy by will, more than one fourth part of an eſtate of a full rate or cenſe, that is, of 100,000 ſeſterces, which is about 800 pounds ſterling.

a man-

a manner, that he really appeared rather delighted, than to be at all uneaſy under them.

But on conſidering the ſubject we are upon, I find there are four inconveniences charged on old age, which, they ſay, render it unhappy. One is, that it diſables men from buſineſs; another, that it renders the body infirm; the third, that it deprives us of the pleaſures of life; and laſtly, that it is the next neighbourhood to death. Now let us examine the weight of each of theſe particularly, and ſee how far the complaint is juſt. 'Tis ſaid, it diſables from buſineſs: But pray what kind of buſineſs? Is it ſuch as youth is capable of? And becauſe men have not ſtill the ſame bodily ſtrength they had in youth, are they therefore incapable of what is properly the buſineſs of age? Did Fabius, think you, do nothing? Did your father (24) Lucius Paulus, Scipio, my dear

(24) Lucius Paulus Æmilius had by his firſt wife Papiria, two ſons and two daughters mention'd in hiſtory;

dear deceas'd ſon's father-in-law, do nothing?
Did the (25) Fabricius's, the (26) Curius's,

ry; and putting her away (without aſſigning any other reaſon for it, than Julius Cæſar on the like occaſion did afterwards, by holding out his new ſhoe, and aſking if it was not handſome, but did they know where it pinch'd him?) he married a ſecond; he alſo gave away theſe two ſons, to be adopted (after the Roman manner) into other families: The younger was adopted to Scipio, the ſon of the great Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus before-mentioned, and is the perſon here ſpoke to. [See note 8.] The other ſon of Paulus was adopted into the family of Fabius Maximus, and became alſo famous: one of the daughters, named Tertia, was married to Cato's ſon Marcus here mentioned [ſee note 89] who died a few years before; the other daughter was married to one of the Tubero's, of a very poor, but virtuous family. [See Plutarch in Paulus Æmilius.] He loſt two ſons juſt at the time of his triumph over Perſeus, king of Macedon; both of them by his ſecond marriage, the one of fourteen years, five days before the triumph, and the other of twelve years, within three days after it; ſo that he had none left to ſucceed him in name, or in his own family. He was in all things a great man in himſelf, but unhappily the miniſter of the ſenate's ſeverity, in executing their commands upon the Epirotes, for joining with Perſeus, after they had ſubmitted to Rome. For his army in one day plunder'd 70 of their towns, and took 150,000 captives, whom they ſold for ſlaves; and from the prey each horſeman had (as Livy ſays, *lib.* 45. *c.* 34.) four hundred *denarii*, about 12*l.* 10*s.* ſterling, and each footman half as much. 'Tis therefore ſtrange that Plutarch (in *Paul. Æmil.*) ſhould ſay, they had but eleven *denarii*, or about 6*s.* 10½*d.* each. But into the public treaſury he brought 135,000 lb. weight of ſilver, and 13,860 pound of gold, all carried in baſkets before him, with other vaſt riches beſides, in his triumph, which was exceedingly ſplendid.

the (27) Coruncanius's, and ſuch other old men, do nothing, when by their counſels and

(25) Caius Fabricius Luſcinius, with the others here named, were all famous in the time of the war with Pyrrhus; the time when Rome ſeemed to be at its height of glory for virtue; tho' they were much more ſo afterwards for conqueſt and empire. Fabricius was conſul twice, *viz.* in the 472d, and 476th, years of Rome, and he triumphed twice: Pyrrhus landing with forces in Italy to aſſiſt the Tarentines againſt the Romans, gained the firſt battle againſt the conſul Albinus; but being convinced, in that engagement, of the Roman bravery, he was rather deſirous, upon his victory, to make an honourable peace for himſelf, and a ſafe one for his allies of Italy than to proſecute the war. Fabricius being ſent to redeem the Roman captives, was treated with the utmoſt civility by Pyrrhus, who preſſed him (being known to be very poor) to accept of a preſent of gold, as a token of friendſhip only; but he obſtinately refuſed it: the next day he endeavour'd to terrify him with an elephant, but in vain. Pyrrhus gave 200 captives their freedom without redemption: to the reſt (about 1600) he gave liberty to go home to keep their Saturnalia (feſtivals kept in December, like the modern Chriſtmas) on Fabricius's word that they ſhould return, if peace were not made, or they were not redeemed; which they did punctually at the day. When cenſor, he was very ſevere, and turned Rufinus (a man of great merit, who had been twice conſul and dictator, and had triumphed) out of the ſenate; for no other crime, than that he had ten pounds of ſilver-plate in his houſe; a piece (as was then judged) of intolerable luxury; on which *Val. Max.* (*lib.* 2. *c.* 9.) is pleaſant: and this is mentioned in Livy's Epit. *lib.* 14. Yet Fabricius had a ſmall ſilver ſalt, and a little ſilver cup with a horn foot to it, which he had received

and authority they ſupported and ſteer'd the common-wealth? (28) Appius Claudius

ceived of his anceſtors, and kept for his libations or ſacrifices. On his return from Pyrrhus, he was firſt made lieutenant to the conſuls, and the next year conſul; being then general, Pyrrhus's phyſician (whom Plutarch calls Timochares, others Nicias, coming into the Roman camp, offered to Fabricius for a ſuitable reward to poiſon Pyrrhus; which he heard with deteſtation, and (as Plutarch in Pyrrhus's life, relates it) revealed it directly to Pyrrhus, in a very handſome letter, which he gives there; but by others 'tis told variouſly, tho' all agree on the ſubſtance of the ſtory.

(26) Manius Curius Dentatus was thrice conſul. In the *faſti* he is mark'd as if he had been four times, but it does not appear he was more than thrice. His firſt conſulate was in the 464th year of Rome, and he then triumphed twice in the ſame year, *viz.* over the Samnites and the Sabines. The ſecond time [mark'd the 3d] was in the year 479, fifteen years after the firſt; he then fought with, and intirely routed Pyrrhus, after his return from Sicily to Italy; upon which Pyrrhus abandoned his new allies, quitted Italy, and ſailed to his own country Epirus, leaving only a garriſon in Tarentum; and Curius led a triumph for his victory. Curius was made conſul again the next year, to oppoſe Pyrrhus, in caſe he ſhould return, as he pretended to the Tarentines. He had moſt of the glory of this war. But he was no leſs famous for his great modeſty, and contented poverty; of which an inſtance is given in in this diſcourſe, in ch. 16. His farm, on which he lived and wholly depended, conſiſted only of ſeven Roman *jugera* or about four Engliſh acres and a half, as others in that neighbourhood then did; and being offered more by the ſenate, he refuſed it, ſaying (as Pliny, *lib.* 18. *c.* 3. has it) that he was a dangerous citizen [*pernicioſus civis*] whom ſeven *jugera* could not ſuffice; for he adds) that was the quantity aſſigned to the commons, after the expulſion of the kings.

was not only old, but had alſo the misfortune to be blind; yet he, when the ſenate ſeemed inclined to make a peace, and enter into an alliance with Pyrrhus, had courage enough to expreſs himſelf to the ſenſe which Ennius gives us in his annals in verſe:

What frenzy now has your wild minds poſſeſt?
*You, who were *erſt with ſageſt counſels bleſt,*
Yourſelves on ſure deſtruction thus to throw!

With the reſt that follows; ſpoke with great ſtrength and gravity; for you know the poem: but the ſpeech itſelf that Appius then made in the ſenate, is ſtill extant in his

(27) Titus Coruncanius was conſul in the 474th year of Rome, the firſt year that Pyrrhus attacked and beat the Romans: but he was not in the battle himſelf, but at the head of another army warring with the Tuſcans, whom he vanquiſhed, and had a triumph for it.

(28) Appius Claudius Cœcus was conſul in the 446th year of Rome, and again in the 457th. In the 473d year he was carried to the ſenate in a chair on that occaſion, having, becauſe of his blindneſs, left it for many years. His ſpeech is in Plutarch, in the life of Pyrrhus. He is mention'd again.

* Ennius's ſtile was very old.

own words. And this part he acted no leſs than ſeventeen years after he was the laſt time conſul, which was ten years after the firſt: and before he was conſul the firſt time, he had been cenſor. Which ſhews that in the time of Pyrrhus's war, he muſt have been very old; yet this account of him we have from our anceſtors. They talk idly therefore, who pretend that age diſables from buſineſs. They might with as much juſtice aſſert, that a pilot on board a ſhip does nothing, becauſe he neither mounts the ſhrowds, hawls the ropes, nor works at the pump; but without any bodily labour, minds only the ſteerage, and directs the helms-man; which is of more importance to the ſhip's preſervation, than the work of all the reſt beſides. For 'tis neither by bodily ſtrength, nor ſwiftneſs, nor agility, that momentous affairs are carried on; but by judgment, counſel, and authority: the abilities for which are ſo far from failing in old age, that they truly increaſe with it.

Unleſs you imagine that I, who, when I was in the ſeveral ſtations of a ſoldier, of tribune, of lieutenant general, and of conſul, perſonally active in the war, am now idle and do nothing, becauſe I am no longer, as formerly, in the field. But tho' not there, it will be allowed, I believe, that I am employed, at leaſt, to full as good purpoſe at home. I now direct in the ſenate what our armies are to do abroad, and lay down the plan before-hand, how our dangerous rival, Carthage, that I am ſure has been long meditating further miſchief, is to be prevented in her deſigns, and effectually humbled. For I ſhall ever think, while that place ſtands, it will be contriving our ruin; and that ſhort of its total deſtruction, Rome can never be ſecure. And the glory of accompliſhing this, (29) Scipio, I hope the immortal

(29) Carthage ('tis ſaid) was built by Dido from Tyre, about 70 years before Rome. Both theſe cities increaſing vaſtly in ſtrength and power, became jealous of each other. Their firſt war began in the 490th year of Rome, 264 before Chriſt, and continued 23 years;

mortal gods have reſerved for you; that what your excellent grandfather made ſo great

years: the Carthaginians being worſted in this long and bloody war, were on the peace obliged to pay the Romans a yearly tribute of 1200 talents [about 225,000*l.* Sterl.] and to give up all their claim to the iſlands between Italy and Afric, as Sicily, Sardinia, &c. Tired with this tribute, 24 years after the peace, at the inſtances of Annibal, a ſecond war was commenced, in which that general led an army of 100,000 foot and horſe, from Spain through Gaul into Italy; and gaining many great battles, and over-running the whole country, had nearly put an end to Rome. In Spain alſo the two Scipio's, endeavouring to prevent Haſdrubal from marching to join Annibal in Italy, were with their armies cut to pieces, [ſee note 97.] after which none caring to venture thither, Publius Cornelius Scipio, mentioned before at note 7, ſon of Publius one of thoſe Scipio's, and nephew to the other, being then but 24 years of age, offered himſelf; and tranſporting ſome few forces over thither, with the few ſcattered remains of the Romans, which he collected, he had in five years time ſuch ſucceſs, that he not only entirely defeated Haſdrubal, but expelled all the Carthaginians from Spain: he then propoſed to tranſport the army into Afric, to draw Annibal out of Italy; but the ſenate, thinking the attempt too deſperate, would not furniſh him either with men or money for the expedition: upon which, borrowing money on his private credit, and perſuading many who admired his virtues, to accompany him, he made up a ſmall army of volunteers, ſailed over to Afric, there gained over to the Roman intereſt Maſiniſſa, a king in Afric, who continued faithful to the Romans above 60 years; and had ſuch vaſt ſucceſs, that Annibal with his forces was obliged to quit Italy, and haſten home to ſave his

great and happy a progreſs in, may by your virtue and conduct, as his worthy ſucceſſor, be

own country; but there he was alſo entirely defeated. The Carthaginians, as they had begun before this battle to ſue for peace, on the loſs of it ſubmitted to the hard terms the ſenate of Rome impoſed on them, in the 17th year after this ſecond war began. But the city flouriſhing in trade, and ſtill growing in wealth and power, gave ſome of Rome perpetual apprehenſions, leſt ſome turn of fortune might enable them to be even with Rome again: amongſt whom this Cato was the principal; but he was oppoſed in his endeavours, to bring the ſenate to a reſolution to deſtroy the place, by Scipio Naſica, and many others; who looked farther before them, and ſeemed to foreſee, that whenever all danger from that rival power ſhould be intirely removed, and Rome ſhould have none capable of giving them any further jealouſy or fear, all diſcipline would be loſt, vice and luxury would prevail, and, as it truly proved, introduce ſuch ſeditions, as would at length utterly ſink and ruin their whole liberties. However 53 years after the laſt peace, in the 605th year of the city, a third war was declared againſt Carthage, on pretence of their diſturbing that near ally and good friend of Rome, Maſiniſſa. The Carthaginians made the humbleſt ſubmiſſions to divert it; they delivered three hundred hoſtages, and all their arms to obtain peace: after which they received the terms from the ſenate; one of which being that Carthage itſelf ſhould be demoliſhed and razed to the ground, and that they ſhould not build again within leſs than ten miles of the ſea. The people enraged at this, reſolved rather all to loſe their lives, and die in their native place. With the deepeſt indignation therefore, and in a fury, they ſet to make themſelves new arms; they caſt up new works; built ſhips, and gave the Romans their hands full for three

be completed. This is now the thirty-third year, ſince that great man was taken from us; but his glorious actions will perpetuate his fame for ever. He died the year before I was cenſor, nine years after my conſulate, under which at the enſuing election he was choſen again, and made the ſecond time conſul. But had his life been protracted to a hundred years, can you ſuppoſe it could ever have proved burthenſome to him? He would not then indeed, as formerly, have given proofs of his abilities in youthful exerciſes, as racing, leaping, tilting or fencing; but he would have done it abundantly by ſtrength of reaſon, cool judgment, and mature counſel. And hence it is, that becauſe it has been conſtantly obſerved, that old men principally excel in theſe, therefore our anceſtors gave the great council of the ſtate the title of Senate, as conſiſting of a body of *ſenes*, or old

three years. But this Scipio, having in the 2d year of it been ſent commander againſt them, took and deſtroyed the place, the 4th year after the war began, which was about 5 years after this is ſuppoſed to have been ſpoke to Scipio.

old men, as the word imports. The Lacedemonians alſo, for the ſame reaſons, give their ſupreme council no other title than that of the old men. And to ſhew the juſtneſs of this, if you look into foreign ſtory, you will find, that the downfal of the greateſt ſtates has been generally owing to the giddy adminiſtration of unexperienced young men; as on the contrary, others have been ſupported, or the tottering have been recovered, by the prudence and wiſe counſels of the aged. Thus in a play of the poet (30) Nævius, where one aſks this queſtion, "But "how happened it, that in ſo ſmall a com- "paſs of time you overſet and loſt ſo great "a government?" The anſwer is, "a par- "cel of young, raw, and ignorant orators "ſtarted up, who took upon them to act "the ſtateſmen; and found means to inſi- "nuate themſelves with, and manage the

(30) Cneius Nævius, one of the firſt dramatic writers of Rome, bore arms in the firſt Punic war, and exhibited his firſt piece in the 519th year of the city *A. Gell. lib.* 17. *c.* 21.

"people."

" people." For 'tis a truth but too well known, that raſhneſs attends youth, as prudence does old age.

But it is alledged, that memory fails in old age. That it does ſo, I freely grant; but then it is principally, where it has not been properly exerciſed; or with thoſe who naturally have no ſtrength of brain: for ſuch as have, will pretty well retain it. (31) Themiſtocles could call every citizen of Athens by his name; and do you think, when he became old, that if he met Ariſtides, he would ſalute him by the name of Lyſimachus? For my own part, I not only know theſe who are now living, but I remember their fathers and grandfathers: nor when I read over the inſcriptions of the tombs, do I find I am in danger of loſing mine. I never yet heard of an old man

(31) Themiſtocles, the brave Athenian general, who in the firſt of the 75th Olympiad, defeated Xerxes's vaſt fleet at Salamis, 480 years before Chriſt. Nine years after which, the Athenians baniſhed him. One offering to teach him the art of memory, he ſaid, he would rather he ſhould teach him that of forgetting. His life is among thoſe of Plutarch.

that

that forgot where he had hid his treaſure. The oldeſt will remember what engages their thoughts and care, as when they give or take ſecurity, with ſuch other affairs as concern them. How do the lawyers, the pontiffs, the augurs, and the philoſophers, who live to a great age? What a vaſt number of particulars muſt all theſe comprehend in their memories? Men will retain their underſtanding and abilities, while they continue their application and diligence. This we find true, not only in men of great and public characters, but in thoſe alſo, who have lived a quiet and unactive life, and ſpent it only in ſtudy. (32) Sophocles wrote tragedies

(32) Sophocles of Athens, a famous tragic poet, is allowed by all to have lived to a great age, but authors do not agree in the length of it. Some ſay, he died at 83; but I think, without good grounds. The author of his life, prefixed in Greek to the *ſcholia* on him, ſays he was born the 2d year of the 71ſt Olympiad [the 495th year before Chriſt] 15 years before the birth of Euripides, whom he alſo ſurvived (he ſays) ſix years. That Euripides lived ſeventy-five years, is particularly proved by J. Barnes in his life. By which account Sophocles muſt have lived ninety-ſix years. This ſtory is alſo in

tragedies at a very great age. and when his ſons, apprehending that through his application to that buſineſs alone, he neglected all his other affairs, and conſequently they would be ruined; they cited him in the court, that (as you know it is with us, when people by their ill conduct ruin their eſtate, it is taken from them, and committed to better hands; ſo) the judges of Athens ſhould take the ſame order with him, as become uncapable of buſineſs: he is ſaid to have read to the judges a part of his tragedy, called Oedipus Coloneus, that he had then in hand, and to have aſked them, whether they thought that the work of a dotard? upon which they acquitted them. Conſider then, whether age can be truly ſaid to deſtroy the capacity, or extinguiſh the abilities of the mind.

in Lucian, in his Macrobii, or long-livers, who ſays, Sophocles was choaked with a grape-ſtone, at the age of 95 years; that the judges admired the work, and condemned his ſon Jophon (who was alſo a tragic writer) of madneſs. Sophocles is ſaid to have wrote 123 tragedies, of which we yet have moſt of the names; but no more than ſeven of the pieces themſelves left, amongſt which, this called Oedipus Coloneus, is ſtill extant.

mind. Was this man, was (33) Heſiod, was (34) Simonides, or (35) Steſichorus, or,

(33) Deſigning in theſe notes to give the ages of all the long-lived perſons here mentioned by Cicero, as far as they can be found in the ancient writings now extant, or in others that I have; I muſt obſerve, that 'tis impoſſible to make ſo much as a rational conjecture of the age of him he firſt names after Sophocles, viz. Heſiod; nor (I dare venture to ſay) did Cicero himſelf know any thing certain of it, further than that, by what Heſiod ſays of himſelf, in his piece called Works and Days, it appears he was an old man. Some have believed he lived before Homer; many that they were contemporaries; and others, that Heſiod was conſiderably younger; amongſt whom was Cicero himſelf, as he ſhews further on in this piece; or probably Cato might have wrote ſo in his *Origines*. Varro, a great antiquary of Rome, contemporary with Cicero, fixed Homer's age at about 160 years after the taking of Troy. Euſebius and Tatian reckon up many other different opinions. H. Dodwell, our late antiquary, a man of vaſt induſtry and great penetration in theſe ſtudies, brings it about 350 years lower, or to the 30th Olympiad, that is about 660 years before Chriſt.

(34) Simonides of the iſland Ceos, a famous poet, who wrote much; but nothing of his is now extant, except ſome Epigrams in the Anthologia, and a few fragments. Plato calls him a divine man. This is he who anſwered Hiero the elder of Syracuſe, inquiring of him what God was, in the well known manner, mentioned by Cicero, *de nat. deorum, lib.* 1. that is, firſt taking one day to conſider of it, he then took two, and then four, ſtill doubling the time; for which he gave this reaſon, that the more he thought of it, the more time he wanted. He was born in the 55th and died in the 78th Olympiad, aged about ninety years.

(35) Ste-

or thoſe I mentioned before, *Iſocrates and *Gorgias, or (36) Homer? Or were thoſe princes of the philoſopers, (37) Pythagoras, or,

(35) Steſichorus of Sicily, a poet much older than Simonides, was born in the 35th Olympiad, about 640 years before Chriſt; he was contemporary with Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum; divers of whoſe epiſtles, or of thoſe now extant, called the epiſtles of Phalaris, are directed to him, menacing him highly for the oppoſition he truly made to him; tho' thoſe epiſtles themſelves are judged not to be genuine. Suidas ſays, Steſichorus wrote 26 books of poems, in the Doric dialect: but nothing of his is extant. Lucian ſays, he died aged 86 years.

* * For theſe two, ſee note 21.

(36) None doubt Homer lived to a good age; but none can pretend to ſay what that was. Herodotus has left a ſmall piece, called Homer's life, in which he is as particular in what the people of the ſeveral towns and places where Homer (as he ſays) had been, as if it had not been 50 years ſince he was there; and yet he ſays his birth was 622 years before Xerxes paſſed the Helleſpont into Greece, which was in the 74th Olympiad; and from hence probably Varro's computation which is the ſame with this, was taken: he alſo gives a particular account of the manner of his death, [as he pretends] but ſays not a word at what age.

(37) Pythagoras was of the iſland Samos; but ſome believed, tho' born there, he was of a Phœnician extract. Authors alſo very much differ about the time of his birth, and particularly three late great ones of our own country, *viz.* Biſhop Lloyd, Dr. Bentley, and H. Dodwell. It is however a ſettled point amongſt them, that he was not born before the laſt year of the 43d Olympiad, nor after the laſt year of the 52d; that is, that he was born between the 604th and the 568th

or (38) Democritus, or (39) Plato, or (40) Socrates, or thoſe who came afterwards, Zeno,

568th years before Chriſt. From Samos he went over to Phœnicia; thence into Egypt, where he converſed much with their prieſts; thence he went into Chaldea, and to Babylon, where ſome think he might have ſeen the prophet Daniel. After about 22 years ſpent in theſe travels, he returned to Samos, where finding the government uſurped by Solyſon, a tyrant, he went to Lucania in Italy, where he was highly eſteemed; being, by thoſe of Metapontum, accounted a god. He had many followers; but not admitting all that came to him, he particularly diſguſted one Cylon of Croton, a young man of great wealth and power, to that degree, that by a formal conſpiracy, all his ſcholars were barbarouſly murthered, except two, of whom Lyſis was one. Porphyry wrote his life, of which we have a large fragment; Jamblichus more fully, both in Greek, which we alſo have. It is alſo in Diogenes Laertius, and in Stanly's lives of the philoſophers, with a particular account of his doctrine. M. Dacier has wrote it more elegantly, prefixed to his tranſlation of the golden verſes, and of Hierocles's excellent commentaries upon them; all now tranſlated into Engliſh. Pythagoras's doctrine was certainly excellent; it rendered all thoſe who adherd to it, highly virtuous, and moſt uſeful men: but this ought to be remembered, that tho' many have pretended to give ſome account of it, yet we have nothing of it truly certain; for neither himſelf nor his followers, would ever publiſh any thing: only there are ſome few epiſtles of theirs, that are accounted genuine; but chiefly on moral duties. And the golden verſes, ſo called truly, ſhew both what theſe and the men themſelves were. But many things delivered by others, as the opinion of that ſect, are to be ſuſpected for fabulous: and it is to be doubted whether any ſect was ever more belyed and abuſed. Pythagoras

(41) Zeno and (42) Cleanthes, or he, whom you yourſelves have ſeen in Rome, (43) Dio-

thagoras is ſaid by Jerome [that is, Euſebius] to have died in the 70th Olympiad, at the age of 95, or, as others ſay, 75; ſo it is in Euſebius's Greek text, as publiſhed by Scaliger, Page 166. Jerome in his verſion gives only the Olympiad not his age. Diog. Laertius quotes Heraclides, giving him 80; but others, he ſays, allow him 90 years: and the great Iſ. Caſaubon on the place, thinks it ought to be 99, becauſe Tzetzes, who generally copies from Laertius, has it ſo. An anonymous writer of his life, of which we have an account in Photius, Cod. 259, gives him 104 years; and a medical author, cited by Managius on Laertius, allows him 117 years: ſo that there are no leſs than 42 years difference between the loweſt and higheſt.

(38) Democritus of Abdera, a city in Thrace, has been accounted, by many, the author of the atomical philoſophy, on which Epicurus afterwards built: but it is a miſtake; for, as Dr. Cudworth, Voſſius, and others ſhew, it was much more ancient: and Cicero, *de Nat. Deor. lib.* 1. mentions Leucippus as prior to him in that doctrine. He was contemporary with Socrates and Plato, but kept himſelf a ſtranger to Athens; having, as ſome ſay, never ſeen it. He ſeems to have ſeen further into nature, than any other philoſopher of his age; but all his own writings are loſt, ſave ſome citations in Stobæus, with ſome few others. But divers things are extant under his name, of which none are genuine; as of Chemiſtry, Charms, &c. Fabricius has alſo, in his *Biblioth. Gr.* Vol. 4, publiſhed a fragment upon Sympathy and Antipathy in Greek, ſaid to be lately diſcovered in a library in Italy, as a genuine piece of Democritus's; but, in my opinion, it not only diſcovers itſelf by its ſillineſs, but by the words, Μέγιστε αὐτοκράτορ, *O mighty Emperor*, which occur about the

Diogenes the ſtoic; I ſay, were any of theſe diſabled by age, or did it oblige them to ſilence?

midſt of it: it therefore ſeems rather to have been wrote under ſome of the Roman emperors much later; unleſs it was addreſſed to the king of Perſia, which is not altogether improbable; for Thrace ſubmitted to thoſe monarchs, and Democritus's father entertained Xerxes himſelf when there: but further, it is wrote in the common, and not in the Ionic dialect, as all others of Democritus's writings were. And of the ſame kind we have divers little pieces under the ſame name, in the collection of Greek Geoponics, or huſbandry, which were never wrote by this Democritus, tho' ſome perhaps might by another of the name. He was ſo intent on diſcoveries in nature, that he ſaid he would prefer one to the crown of Perſia. He travelled into Egypt, and over many parts of Aſia, in queſt of knowledge; and continued very much abroad, till he was 80 years old; then retiring and confining himſelf much, he applied himſelf to the diſſection of animals, and to conſider the minute parts of their dead bodies. The city of Abdera hereupon thinking him mad, and having a great value for him, ſent unknown to him an embaſſy to the great phyſician Hippocrates, to come to cure him. He came at their call, tho' it was no very ſmall voyage; and after ſome diſcourſe with Democritus, declared to the people, that he was the only man he found truly in his ſenſes in the place. There is extant a long and pleaſant letter of Hippocrates amongſt his works, giving a particular narrative of the whole affair; tho' ſome of late, and others formerly, ſuſpected whether it be genuine. Democritus thought all the cares of life folly, and therefore always laughed at them. Plato had ſuch an abhorrence of his corpuſcular philoſophy, tho' it is now allowed on all hands to be the only true, that he has never ſo much

as

lence? Did they not all, without ſinking under it, continue their ſtudies as in youth, to

as once mentioned him in his writings. Laertius and Lucian agree, that he lived to the age of 104 years, and Cenſorinus ſays he lived to near the age of Gorgias, which was noted before to be 108 or 107. Democritus uſed to ſay, *To adviſe well, to ſpeak well, and to act well, were the three great points men ſhould ſtudy.*

(39) Plato's character is ſo well known, that much need not be ſaid of him. Dacier has lately wrote his life, and prefixed it to his French verſion of the ſelect dialogues, publiſhed in 2 vols. ſince done into Engliſh. I ſhall briefly obſerve, that he was the ſon of Ariſto, born at Athens the 3d year of the 87th Olympiad, 430 years before Chriſt. He applied himſelf in his youth to the genteeler exerciſes, as athletics, painting, muſic and poetry; in which laſt we have ſome ſmall things of his that are good. He alſo ſerved in the wars, at 20 years of age: but quitting all theſe, on obſerving the ſolid wiſdom of Socrates, he gave himſelf intirely up to him. Ælian *(Var. Hiſt. lib.* 3. 27.) ſays, that the night before Plato's father came to recommend his ſon to Socrates's care, he (Socrates) dreamed, that a young ſwan flew from the altar in the academy, dedicated to Cupid, into his boſom, and from thence flew up to the heavens, ſinging ſo ſweetly, as to charm both men and gods. He travelled into Ægypt, and then to Italy, to ſee Archytas the Pythagorean as is mentioned in this piece of Cato, and to converſe with others of that ſect. He was thrice in Sicily, chiefly on Dion's account. 'Tis agreed he died in the 81ſt or 82d year of his age. The chriſtian fathers admired him much. *Vid. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib.* 8. *c.* 4. *& ſeq.*

(40) Socrates his character is alſo well known. M. Charpentier, one of the firſt members of the French Academy, has excellently wrote his life; which is in Engliſh prefixed to Byſhe's tranſlation of Xenophon's

to the laſt of their days, and to an extreme old age? But to inſiſt no longer on thoſe diviner

4 books of the Memorable Things of Socrates, with his 5th of Oeconomics. He was born the 3d year of the 77th Olympiad, and condemned and put to death the 1ſt of the 95th Olympiad, aged 70 years. He never wrote any thing that was publiſhed; but Plato made him one of the interlocutors in moſt of his dialogues.

(41) Zeno was of Cittium, in the iſland of Cyprus. He followed merchandize in his youth, and coming to Athens with a cargo of purple and other Phœnician goods, he loſt his ſhip and all on board, but ſaved himſelf. Going on ſhore, he went into a bookſeller's ſhop, where hearing the man reading ſome pieces of Xenophon, he aſked whether and where any ſuch men where then to be found; (Crates happening at that time to be paſſing the ſhop) Yes, ſays the man, there goes one of them, pointing to Crates: Zeno immediately followed and accoſted him, and from that day became his diſciple. He plied his ſtudies exceeding cloſe, gained great repute, and was the founder of the ſect of Stoics, ſo called from Stoa, a Portico in which their lectures were held. He wrote many books but they are all loſt. He ſaid, the beſt voyage he had ever made, was that in which he had loſt all. If he died (as Euſebius ſays *Gr. Chron.* p. 182.) the 1ſt of the 129th Olympiad, he muſt have been born the 3d of the 109th *i. e.* 342 years before Chriſt; for he lived 98 years, as both Laertius and Lucian ſay, in perfect health; and then ſtumbling as he went out of the door of his ſchool, in the words of a Greek verſe he ſaid aloud, *Why do you call, I come*: upon which he went home, abſtain'd from food and died; and was ſucceeded in the ſchool by the following

(42) Cleanthes of Aſſus in Lyſia in Aſia Minor, came to Athens exceeding poor, having only four drachmas

diviner ſtudies, that may perhaps communicate a vigour to both mind and body, and to

drachmas (about 2*s*. 6*d*. ſterl.) in his pocket: there hearing Zeno diſcourſe, he applied himſelf wholly to him. To maintain himſelf, having attended in the ſchool all the day, he wrought at nights in drawing water for the gardens, and in grinding or bolting for the baker; and keeping himſelf hearty and in good caſe, while he was not obſerved to do any thing in the day, and was known to have no eſtate, he was called on by Areopagus (a great court at Athens) to render them (according to an excellent law of theirs) an account how he lived; which he did by calling the gardener and baker, for whom he wrought, to witneſs for him. The court was ſo pleaſed with this, that they ordered him ten minæ (about £. 31. 5*s*. ſterl.) of the public money to be given him, which his maſter Zeno perſuaded him not to accept. But Antigonus, king of Macedon, afterwards gave him much more. He uſed to pick up dry ſhoulder-blade bones of oxen, to take down his maſter's lectures on, for want of paper, or of the other materials then in uſe for writing. He ſucceeded Zeno in his ſchool, and grew into very high eſteem with the Athenians. He lived to the age of 99 years; then having a ſwelling riſe on his lip, and being ordered by the phyſicians to faſt two days, in order to abate the humour; having done ſo, he began to conſider, what further buſineſs he had in life; and thereupon reſolved, ſince he had begun to faſt, he would eat no more at all; but receiving that day a letter from a diſtant friend, requeſting a piece of ſervice of him, eat enough to enable him to go abroad and do that buſineſs; which having diſpatched, he returned, wholly abſtained from food, and died.

(43) Diogenes, called the Babylonian, is mentioned by Cicero in divers places of his works. He was a

to deſcend to low and common life; I can name ſeveral old countrymen of my particular

hearer of Chryſippus, who ſucceeded Cleanthes before mentioned, and the next in that ſchool. The ſucceſſion was thus:

The Old or Firſt Academics,

1. Plato, 2. Speuſippus, 3. Xenocrates, 4. Polemo, 5. Crates and Crantor, carried on the Academic ſchool.

Stoics.

Under Crates ſprung, 6. Zeno, 7. Cleanthes, 8. Chryſippus, 9. Diogenes.

This Diogenes, together with Carneades the academic (of the 2d ſchool) and Critolaus the peripatetic, were ſent jointly by the city of Athens (in the 599th year of Rome, or 155 years before Chriſt) to the ſenate to beg off a fine of 500 talents [93,750*l.* ſterl.] laid on them, upon the complaint of the Oropians, or at leaſt a mitigation of it. The youth of Rome hearing them, eſpecially Carneades ſpeak, were ſo taken with their eloquence, that they applied themſelves with the utmoſt eagerneſs to the ſtudy of it. Cato obſerving this, tho' he muſt then have learned Greek himſelf, being about 80 years of age, and apprehending the conſequence, if the youth declining the ſeverer inſtitutions of their anceſtors, ſhould run into the novelties, and ſtudy the arts of Greece, prevailed with the ſenate to ſend thoſe gentlemen a going; which they did, with a favourable anſwer, remitting, as ſome ſay, four-fifths of the fine. [See Plutarch in Cato, and *Suppl. Livii, lib.* 47. 25.] I find this Diogenes's age mentioned by none but Lucian, who ſays he died at 89 years. *Aul. Gellius, lib.* 7. 14. *Macrobius Sat. lib.* 1. 5. *Seneca de Ira, lib.* 3. all mentioned theſe three.

In cloſing this account of old men, I ſhall add, that 'tis ſtrange Cicero ſhould omit naming a perſon he ſo much admired, as Theophraſtus; who ſays, in the

preface

lar acquaintance in this Sabine neighbourhood, who never on account of their age, decline their buſineſs; nor ever have any conſiderable work carried on, either in planting, ſowing, reaping, or ſtoring, but they are themſelves at the head of it: tho' you may ſay, this is not ſo much to be wondered at, in the buſineſs of the year, becauſe (as 'tis ſaid) no man thinks himſelf ſo old, but that he may live one year longer: but this alone is not the caſe with theſe men I ſpeak

preface of his Characters of Vices, that he wrote them in the 99th year of his age: and Jerome, *in Epiſt.* 2. *ad. Nepotianum*, ſays, he lived to 107 years, and then complained he muſt die juſt as he began to be wiſe. I ſhall wind up this whole account of long-livers, by obſerving, that notwithſtanding it has been ſaid of divers of them, that tho' they had wrote much, all their books were now loſt; yet there are ſtill extant three Greek pieces, all wrote by perſons living in the ſame city (Athens) and in the ſame age, each of whoſe authors was, at the time of writing them, above 90 years old; *viz.* the two laſt, near a hundred; theſe are Iſocrates's Panathenaicus, and Sophocles's tragedy of Oedipus Coloneus, both mentioned before, and that which I juſt now noted, Theophraſtus's Characters, tranſlated of late years in moſt, if not all, the politer European languages. And the reaſon why nothing like this has appeared in theſe latter ages, may deſerve to be inquired into, and conſidered. But the obſervation I thought proper for this place,

of; they take not pains only in ſuch work, as they may expect themſelves to reap the fruits of; but they freely labour alſo in ſuch as they are ſure can produce none in their time: they raiſe nurſeries, and plant trees, for the benefit only of another generation, or, as our (44) Statius expreſſes it in his Synephebi, "They plant to profit a ſucceeding age." Nor, if you aſk one of theſe men, for whom it is he is thus labouring, will he be at any loſs to anſwer thus: I do it, he will ſay, for the immortal Gods, who, as they beſtowed theſe grounds on me, require at my hands that I ſhould tranſmit them improved to poſterity, who are to ſucceed me in the poſſeſſion of them.

That poet was much more juſt in what he ſaid of an old man providing for his ſucceſſor,

(44) Statius Cæcilius, a poet of Rome, but an Inſubrian, or of Ciſalpine Gaul by birth, was contemporary with Ennius, and died the next year after him. Cicero, or Cato, calls him here by both names, but both note the ſame man. *Voſſius de poetis Lat.* Theſe quotations being from Comedy, are not truly in verſe, and therefore not in rhyme here.

ceſſor, than in this other ſaying of his:

Indeed were age with no more ills attended
Than this alone, this were alone ſufficient:
That many things by living long we ſee
We never wiſhed to ſee——

And I ſay, as probably, many things we wiſhed, but ſcarce could hope, to ſee. But are we exempt from this in youth, more than in old age? Do not men in all ages ſee things happen that diſpleaſe them? I take the ſame poet to be yet more in the wrong, where he ſays,

But this in age I think the worſt of all,
That old folks find the world grows weary of
them,
And they become a burthen to their friends.

On the contrary, I ſay, rather a pleaſure, if it is not their own faults: for, as the wiſe and good are in age delighted with the company of young people of ſenſe and good inclinations,

clinations, and nothing makes age ſit lighter on them, than the regard and eſteem of ſuch; ſo all young people, who deſire to recommend themſelves to the world by a virtuous life and ſolid accompliſhments, muſt of courſe be pleaſed with the opportunity of improving themſelves by the advice and informations of the moſt experienced: and thus I judge it is, that I obſerve you to be no leſs pleaſed with my converſation, than I truly am with yours. But you ſee that old age is ſo far from becoming languid and unactive, that it is always ſtirring, ever employing itſelf about ſomething or other; generally indeed about ſuch things as the perſon has been moſt converſant in, in the former part of his life. Nay ſome are ſo very averſe to idleneſs, that they rather chooſe to be learning ſomething new, as (45) Solon we ſee

(45) Solon, one of thoſe ſeven, called the wiſe men of Greece, was archon or prætor of Athens, the 3d of the 46th Olympiad, 594 years before Chriſt; and having done many great ſervices for that republick (tho' he was himſelf a native of Salamis, an iſland not far from Athens) the people would have given him the abſolute

ſee glorying of himſelf in his elegies, that, *daily learning ſomething, he grew old:* as I alſo did, who, when I was well advanced in years, applied myſelf to learn Greek, and ſtudied both the language and their literature with ſuch eagerneſs, as if my thirſt for them were never to be ſatisfied; for I longed to be acquainted with their affairs, and gained ſo much knowledge in them, that from thence I have been able to cite the ſeveral examples

ſolute command, but he refuſed it. [*Diog. Laert.*] At Athens as formerly at Rome, debtors who could not pay, were made ſervants or ſlaves to the creditors; Solon having 7 talents [1312*l.* 10*s.* ſterl.] due to him, remitted it, and cauſed all the citizens in the ſame manner to remit their debts. The city at that time had only Draco's laws, ſaid (becauſe of their ſeverity) to be wrote in blood: theſe he aboliſhed, and gave the people new ones, many of which were excellent. He foretold Piſiſtratus's uſurpation, but was not believed: when that man got poſſeſſion of the government, Solon went to Crœſus, king of Lydia; his converſation with whom is well known: Piſiſtrarus proved moderate in his government, and invited Solon back, but he declined to come. He wrote many elegies, ſome fragments of which are extant. He died in Cyprus, at 80 years of age; Lucian ſays 100: his body was by his order carried to Salamis, and buried in a corn-field, which he required to be plowed over him. See further, note 92.

you

you have heard from me: nay ſo ſtrong a bent I had that way, that hearing Socrates in his old age had learned to play on the fiddle (for muſic with them was a reputable exerciſe) I had almoſt got into the humour of learning that too, but I declined it: however I took true pains in their other ſtudies.

I muſt further ſay, that I do not now ſo much as wiſh to have the ſtrength of youth again (for this is another of the charges againſt old age) more than I wiſhed in youth for the ſtrength of an ox or elephant. For it is our buſineſs only to make the beſt uſe we can of the powers granted us by nature, and whatever we take in hand, to do it with all our might. How ſilly then, and unworthy of a man, was that of (46) Milo of

(46) Milo, of Croton, a city of the Brutii in the ſouth of Italy, now in the kingdom of Naples, was ſix times victor at the Olympic games. Divers odd ſtories are told of his great ſtrength, as that he carried a large ox on his ſhoulders, thro' the whole Olympic field, as if it had been a lamb: it is commonly added that he began with carrying a calf, and, continuing that practice every day with the ſame creature, till it grew

of Croton, who, when weakened with age, beholding the Athletæ (or wreſtlers) at their exerciſes,

grew to its full ſize, gained ſtrength by it. Whence the proverb, *Taurum feret, qui vitulum tulit, He'll carry an ox, that begins with a calf*; which ſometimes is interpreted to another ſenſe. What Solinus tells of him, is much ſtranger, that with a blow of his fiſt he felled an ox, and eat him all up the ſame day. *Aul. Gellius, l.17. c.* 16. gives this account of his death, that ſeeing a tree ſplit down in part, to try what ſtrength he had left, he attempted to rive it quite aſunder; and when he had forced it in part, the tree recovering itſelf, bound his hands in the rift, and held him, being alone and without help, till he periſhed.-----But the ſtory Diodorus Siculus gives us, in which this Milo was concerned, is much more worthy of notice. Sybaris was a wealthy populous city, in the borders of Lucania and the Brutii, and had divers others ſubject to it: the faction of one Telys (a citizen of great power) prevailing, 500 of the principal inhabitants were baniſhed by him, and their eſtates confiſcated. Theſe fled to Croton, and to the altars there for refuge. Telys on hearing this, by a meſſage required the Crotoniates to ſurrender them, or otherwiſe they might expect a war. The Crotoniates long doubtful what to do, were prevailed on by Pythagoras, then preſent, rather to depend on the aſſiſtance of the gods, and hazard a war, than betray their ſupplicants. The Sybarites hereupon brought an army of 300,000 men into the field; the Crotoniates met them with 100,000, with Milo at their head; fought the Sybarites, beat them, and, giving no quarter, cut almoſt the whole army in the battle and flight to pieces; and utterly deſtroying the town, put an end to their whole dominion: ſo that Sybaris was no more heard of, but in ſtory, by that name; for Thurium was built by the Athenians in its place. Strabo an

exercises, he looked on his own arms, and with this expression, *But these arms are now dead that once*——— fell a crying: but the trifler mistook; for not his arms only; but rather himself was dead; since he never had any thing valuable in him, but the strength of his back and limbs; and if these were gone, the whole man were gone with them. (47) Sextus Æmilius never made such com-

an excellent geographer, under the reign of Augustus Cæsar, who as well as Diodorus, relates this, says, that these two towns were but 200 stadia, *i. e.* 25 miles, distant from each other.---The action must have happened near the 50th Olympiad, and about 600 years before Christ.---This was not necessary for illustrating Cicero; but my design in relating it, is to note the vast populousness of some countries in former ages. 'Tis true, that in those times, war was not carried on by mercenaries, as now; but every man from 16 to 60 was obliged to bear arms. Many other astonishing instances may be given, of the vast numbers of people in those times in Italy, Greece, Sicily, Egypt, Asia, &c. But no where more than in the Old Testament, where it is said [2 *Chron. c.* 13.] that Abijah led an army of 400,000 men against Jeroboam, who met him with another of 800,000, and that 500,000 of the latter fell in the battle; yet their two cities were not 50 miles distant from each other, nor their whole dominions taken together; much above thrice the extent of Yorkshire.

plaint,

plaint, nor (48) Titus Coruncanius, who lived many years before him, nor (49) Publius Craſſus, more lately; whoſe old age was employed in framing and drawing up laws for their country, and who appeared rather to improve in prudence and knowledge to the laſt of their days. I own indeed that the orator is not in all reſpects ſo capable in old age as he was in youth: for in that buſineſs, not only ſkill and abilities of the mind are required, but alſo ſtrength of

(47) I find no Sextus Æmilius in the Roman hiſtory; perhaps it ſhould be M. Æmilius, that is Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who was conſul the firſt time in the 567th year of the city, and was alſo Pontifex Maximus, prince of the ſenate, and cenſor; and died old, in the year of Rome 602, about a year or two before this diſcourſe was held or ſuppoſed; for by Cato's being in his 84th year, as he ſays, that would fall in the 603d of Rome. But the various readings give L. Ælius, one perhaps of that poor, but excellent family of the Ælii Tuberones, into which P. Æmilius's ſecond daughter was married, as was obſerved in note 24.

(48) Mentioned before in note 27.

(49) Publius Licinius Craſſus I ſuppoſe, who was conſul in the year 583; or rather his father, of the ſame name, who was conſul in the 549th year, and bore all the other great offices, as Pont. Max. and cenſor; and died in the 571ſt of Rome. Livy, *lib.* 34. *c.* 28. & *lib.* 39. *c.* 46.

body

body and of the lungs. Yet thoſe who had a good voice in their youth, will not wholly loſe it in age: for tho' it abates in ſtrength, it acquires a kind of ſoftneſs and fluency, that render it agreeable. You ſee my years, and yet I have not loſt mine. But even when it becomes low, and in ſome meaſure fails, the gravity and compoſure with which an old man ſedately, yet eloquently, delivers himſelf, not only draws attention, but gains the favour of the audience; or, if he can't depend on his own utterance, he may however put it into the mouth of a Scipio or a Lælius, and do good ſervice with it. For, what can be more honourable, what more deſirable in life, than to ſee old men waited on by numbers of the young, making their court to them for their advice and inſtruction? For none, certainly, will deny, that the aged are the beſt qualified for inſtructing of youth, and training them up in the knowledge, as well as animating them to the diſcharge of every important duty in life; than which there can be nothing of greater

greater moment and conſequence, nor of greater advantage to the public. And indeed I have often thought (50) Cneius Scipio, and Publius Scipio, and your two grandfathers, (51) L. Æmilius and (52) P. Africanus extreamly happy on this account, when I have ſeen them walk thus attended by the young nobility of our city, who ſeemed entirely to depend on them. And I muſt ever think, that all thoſe who ſpend their time in improving others in knowledge, and teaching the nobler arts, when their natural ſtrength of body fails them, are intituled to our higheſt regard and eſteem; tho' it is undoubtedly true, that even this decay is oftener owing to ſome unhappy courſes, and living too faſt in youth, than to the natural effects of old age alone. For a libidinous and intemperate life in youth, will unavoidably deliver over the body languid and enervate to ſucceeding old age. Cyrus in his dying-ſpeech, as given us by Xenophon, denies that he

(50) See note 97. (51) See note 24.
(52) See note 7 and 29.

ever found himſelf weaker in his old age, or leſs capable of performing any duty, than he had been in his younger years. And when I was a boy, I remember (53) Lucius Metellus, who having been created (54) pontifex maximus four years after his ſecond conſu-

(53) Lucius Cæcilius Metellus was the firſt time conſul in the 502d year of Rome, 250 years before Chriſt, when, commanding in Sicily in the firſt Punic war, he defeated Aſdrubal the Carthaginian general, kill'd 20,000 of his men, with 26 elephants, and took above a hundred, which he preſented to Rome for a ſhow. *Eutrop. lib.* 2. He was ſecond time conſul in 507; and, by what is ſaid here, he muſt have been made pontifex in 511, and have lived to 533, at which time Cato muſt have been only 14 years old.

(54) Pontifex Maximus.) The Romans, tho' they did not practiſe all the little fopperies of the Greeks in their religion, as Diod. Siculus notes; yet not only the people, but the government itſelf, were ſuperſtitious as any in the world; as was obſerved at note 19: which was principally owing to the ſolemn inſtitutions of their ſecond king, Numa Pompilius, who, during his long reign of 43 years, applied himſelf to little beſides. He appointed an order of prieſthood, of which he made 4 chief pontiffs, who took their titles [as Plutarch and Varro ſay] from their having the charge of their great wooden bridge over Tiber: theſe were afterwards increaſed to 9, and again to 15: they were choſen out of the greateſt men of Rome for authority in the ſtate; they held their offices for life; the ſucceſſion was by election, and generally made by their own college: yet the choice was twice put into the power of the people by their tribunes; but was ſoon after the firſt time reſtored

conſulate, continued his preſidence in that college twenty-two years, appeared to the laſt as vigorous, as if he had not been ſenſible of any decay. I need ſay nothing of myſelf; tho' you know it is a privilege allowed old people to talk of themſelves.

For do not you obſerve in Homer, how Neſtor is on all occaſions glorying of his own former exploits? For he lived, 'tis ſaid, to three times the common age of man; that is, he lived to ſee three ſucceſſive generations: and yet he had no reaſon to apprehend his being thought tireſome on theſe ſubjects; ſince (as Homer ſays) his diſcourſe flowed more ſweet than honey from his tongue: and herein bodily ſtrength had no ſhare or concern at all. Yet the great (55) commander

reſtored to the college by Sulla, and the 2d time Cæſar, having gained the abſolute power, took it from the people; and making himſelf pontifex maximus, all his ſucceſſors in the empire conſtantly bore the title, even after they became chriſtians, 'till Gratian, about the year of Chriſt 380, rejected it.

(55) Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ in Peloponeſus, and brother of Menelaus, was general of all the forces

der of all the Greeks, never once wiſhed that he had ten men in the camp of Ajax's ſtrength and courage, but ten ſuch as Neſtor: for by the aſſiſtance of ſuch counſellors, he doubted not but Troy would ſoon fall. But to return. I am now in my eighty-fourth year, and I wiſh indeed, I could boaſt the ſame of myſelf as Cyrus did. Yet this I can truly ſay, that tho' I have not the ſame ſtrength of body as formerly, when I (56) firſt

ces of the Greeks, that went againſt Troy. He makes this wiſh, in Homer's Iliad B. or Book 2. v. 372 in the Greek; in Engliſh thus, by A. Pope, v. 440.

To him the king, How much thy years excel
In arts of council, and of ſpeaking well:
Oh, would the gods, in love to Greece, decree
But ten ſuch ſages as they grant in thee,
Such wiſdom ſoon ſhould Priam's force deſtroy,
And ſoon ſhould fall the haughty towers of Troy.

(56) Both Plutarch, in the life of Cato, and C. Nepos ſay, he went into the ſervice at the age of 17; and we ſaw before, at note 13, that he was in it at the retaking of Capua in his 20th year. He went quæſtor in his 30th year, with Scipio Africanus, into Sicily and Afric, where (his office engaging him in the buſineſs of the public accounts, and Scipio being of a free temper and a generous diſpoſition) they widely diſagreed; in ſo much that Cato, repairing to Rome, and there applying himſelf to Q. Fabius Maximus, whom he principally choſe [as we ſaw before at note 11] for his patron, this affair, together with a complaint of the Locrians, a people ſituate near Sicily, was laid before the

firſt ſerved in the Punic war, or when I was quæſtor in it; or when conſul in Spain; or,

the ſenate; and being highly exaggerated by Fabius, a prætor and two tribunes were appointed, and very cloſe orders given them to inquire into Scipio's conduct: who returning, confirmed the complaint of the Locrians; but in relation to Scipio, as Plutarch gives it, in the life of Cato, they reported, that when not otherwiſe engaged, he took his diverſion and enjoyed himſelf with his friends: but at the ſame time he neglected no buſineſs. Livy, on the other hand, who is much larger in his account of the whole [b. 29. c. 22. without mentioning Cato at all, but making Fabius the chief complainant, repreſents thoſe ambaſſadors charmed with the excellent order they found both the fleet and army in, of which they made report to the advantage of Scipio in the higheſt degree.---Scipio embarked for Afric in the 550th year of Rome, when Cato muſt have been about 30 years old. He was conſul in the 559th, and had Spain for his province, where he obtained ſignal victories over the Spaniſh inhabitants, (for the Carthaginians, in the late peace made 6 years before, had intirely ſurrendred to Rome, and quitted all their pretences to Spain) and the next year, on his return to Rome, *viz.* 560, he led a triumph for theſe victories. Three years after this he went *tribunus militum*, or tribune of the ſoldiers [generally of the infantry, a kind of major general of the foot] under Manius Acilius Glabrio, one of the conſuls, in the 563d of Rome, into Macedon and Theſſaly, to oppoſe Antiochus Magnus, king of Syria; who, under pretence of aſſerting the liberties of Greece (for which there was no occaſion, ſince T. Q. Flaminius, as in note 3, had put the Greeks in poſſeſſion of theſe five years before) made war againſt the Romans; and poſting himſelf in the famous ſtraits of Thermopylæ

or when tribune to the conſul Glabrio, I fought at Thermopylæ: yet, as you ſee, age has not yet wholly unſtrung me. The ſenate finds no defect in ſuch abilities as are proper for that place; theſe are not wanting at the Roſtra;* nor am I wanting to my friends

(where Leonidas, and 300 Lacedemonians, oppoſing Xerxes ſo gallantly, died) was by Cato's conduct, in ſurmounting the clifts, intirely defeated. He was choſen cenſor 11 years after his conſulſhip, in his 50th year; on which Livy, b. 39, as quoted before at note 7, is large. As to his age, as he was born [as in note 12] in the 520th year of Rome; and Cicero in his Brutus gives the conſuls of the year he died in, who by the *faſti* were ſo in the 605th year; he ſhould have died according to that account, in his 85th year: but this directly contradicts the hiſtorian Livy, whoſe buſineſs it was more exactly to conſult and conſider the annals, and who [at note 7] poſitively ſays, he impleaded S. Galba in his 90th year; and C. Nepos, another good hiſtorian, ſays, he was engaged in public affairs 80 years; by which he ſhould have lived to near 100 years. Theſe hiſtorians therefore, are moſt to be depended on: for Cicero has been obſerved in ſome other caſes to miſs in his computations.

* The Roſtra was a public place in Rome, where the orators, and thoſe who ſpoke to the people on any public affair, whether in relation to the laws or judgments, &c. delivered what they had to ſay. This name Roſtra, was given it, from its being built up with the beaks of the ſhips, that the Romans, on taking Actium, a ſea-port town to the ſouth-eaſt of the mouth of Tiber, and deſtroying their fleet, brought as trophies to Rome.

Vid.

friends or my clients. For I never could approve of that old proverb, tho' commended (I know) by ſome, which bids us be old betimes, if we would continue old long. On the contrary, I would rather chuſe to be old for a leſs time, or die ſooner, than to make myſelf old before I truly am. I therefore keep myſelf conſtantly employed; and no man, I believe, ever yet found me quite idle. But I have not the ſtrength of one of you; nor have you the ſtrength of (57) Pontius the centurion; is he therefore to be preferred to you? He who has but a moderate ſhare of ſtrength, and applies it properly to make the beſt uſe of it, as far as it will go, I aſſure you, will rarely have occaſion to complain for want of more. Milo is ſaid to have entered the Olympic field carrying an ox on his back: now, if the choice were

Vid. Liv. l. 8. *c.* 14. *in fine.* And not as Lipſius ſays, (*de Magnitud. U. Romæ, lib.* 3. *c.* 8.) from thoſe gained at the battle of Antium, fought by Auguſtus ſome years after this diſcourſe was wrote.

(57) This was ſome officer then noted for his great ſtrength, not elſewhere mentioned, that I know of.

given you, which would you prefer, Milo's ſtrength of body, or Pythagoras's abilities of mind? In ſhort, while you have ſtrength, uſe it; when it leaves you, no more repine for the want of it, than you did when lads, that your childhood was paſt; or at the years of manhood, that you were no longer boys. The ſtages of life are fixed; nature is the ſame in all, and goes on in a plain and ſteady courſe: every part of life, like the year, has its peculiar ſeaſon: as children are by nature weak, youth is raſh and bold; ſtaid manhood more ſolid and grave; and ſo old age in its maturity, has ſomething natural to itſelf, that ought particularly to recommend it. I ſuppoſe, Scipio, you hear how your grandfather's hoſt (58) Maſſiniſſa, now

(58) Maſſiniſſa, ſon of Gala, king of the Maſſylians, a nation of the Numidians in Africa. His ſtory is extreamly remarkable. The two Scipio's in Spain, mentioned before at note 50, but largely ſpoke of in note 97, ſent legates to Syphax, king of the Numidians, to engage his friendſhip to the Romans; in which they ſucceeded. The Carthaginians provoked at this, prevailed with Gala to make war upon Syphax; which he accordingly did, by ſending his ſon Maſſiniſſa, a youth

now at the age of ninety years, employs his time; that it is indifferent to him, whether he walks or rides; if he ſets out on a journey on foot, he will not mount; or if he gets on horſe-back, he will not light; that no rain nor weather can oblige him, when abroad, to cover his head; and that, being thin of body, he is ſo active, as in his own perſon to diſcharge all the ſeveral duties of his

a youth of great ſpirit, tho' but 17 years of age, with an army againſt him. This young general intirely defeated Syphax; and being in the intereſt of the Carthaginians, he went over as their ally into Spain where he very much contributed to the overthrow of the Scipio's. [Page 63.] His father Gala dying, his brother Œſalce, Maſſiniſſa's uncle, ſucceeded him; and on his death ſoon after, Gala's ſon Capuſa, who, being young and weak, one Mezetulus of the royal blood, rebelled againſt him, raiſed an army, and fought the young king, who with moſt of his army was cut off. Yet Mezetulus on his removal claimed not the crown to himſelf, but ſet up Lacumaces, another younger ſon of Gala, to whom he pretended to be guardian. Maſſiniſſa (who objected not to his uncle Œſalce's ſucceſſion to his father, for ſo the law of their country appointed) hearing in Spain of his uncle's and couſin's death, haſtened over to Afric, landed in Mauritania, and obtained of its king Bocchar, 4000 men, with whom he marched into Maſſylia; and meeting there only 500 of his countrymen, who went to receive him, he, according to promiſe, diſmiſſed his eſcort, the Moors. His

his ſtation, as a king and a general. You ſee therefore, that conſtant exerciſe with temperance, will ſtill preſerve a competent ſhare of our priſtine vigour.

But allowing it, that old people loſe their ſtrength, I ſay again, they do not want it. The laws, their adminiſtration, the inſtitutions and diſcipline of our anceſtors, public and

His numbers increaſing, and gaining one battle, Lacumaces fled to Syphax. Maſſiniſſa, doubting his own ſtrength, propoſed an accommodation; of which Syphax approved at firſt, till Aſdrubal of Carthage, ſhewed him the danger of ſuch a neighbour, and prevailed with him to carry on the war. This he accordingly did, and overthrew Maſſiniſſa, who with a few about him, fled to the mountains, and there lived on plunder. Syphax ſent a commander (whoſe name alſo was Bocchar) with forces againſt him, who intirely defeated and purſued him to a large rapid river; Maſſiniſſa, with four more, took it; two of whom were carried away by the violence of the ſtream, and periſhed; but Maſſiniſſa, tho' ſorely wounded, with the other two, eſcaped. Bocchar and his men, believing them all loſt, reported the matter ſo to Syphax, to his and his peoople's no ſmall joy, as well as to that of Aſdrubal. But Maſſiniſſa, as ſoon as he had recovered of his wound, to their great mortification, and to the equal joy of his friends, appeared again, as if he had dropt out of the clouds, and in a little time collecting an army of 6000 foot and 4000 horſe, was ready to oppoſe

and private, are their proper buſineſs; but from employments that require ſtrength of body in their execution, we are exempted. It is therefore ſo far from being the caſe with us, that more is expected from us than we are able to perform, that, to ſay the truth, there is much leſs. But it will be alledged, perhaps, that ſome people are ſo weakened with age, that by it they are rendered uncapable of every kind of buſineſs whatſoever: to which I anſwer, that this is not ſo much the fault of age, as of conſtitution, or the want of health, which happens to all ages.

oppoſe Syphax; who then began to conſider Maſſiniſſa as an enemy that would require his utmoſt thought and care. He therefore raiſed a large army, marched himſelf againſt him, and ſending his ſon Vermina with another body round, to attack him on the rear while he himſelf engaged in the front, Maſſiniſſa was intirely routed again; and it was only by his ſingular dexterity, that he narrowly eſcaped the great diligence Vermina uſed in the purſuit: but from that time he was obliged to keep private and at a diſtance, till the Romans landed. In this time Aſdrubal, apprehending the Romans might as formerly make a deſcent on Afric, judged it neceſſary to bring Syphax into a ſtrict alliance with Carthage: for which end he gave him his daughter Sophoniſba, a fine woman, in marriage. Scipio

ages. How weakly was Publ. Africanus's ſon, he who adopted you, Scipio: he was all his life ſo exceedingly infirm, that he ſcarce ever knew what health was: tho' had he not been unfortunate in that particular, he might otherwiſe have proved another glory to our ſtate; for he had not only all his father's greatneſs of ſoul, but the further advantage alſo of having that adorned with the politeſt literature. What wonder is it

pio landing, ſent Lælius into the country before him. Maſſiniſſa then preſently appeared; and joining him, drew great numbers of Numidians to their aſſiſtance. Their firſt battle was with Syphax, whom they defeated, and took himſelf, with his beautiful queen Sophoniſba, priſoners. She fell at Maſſiniſſa's feet, imploring his mercy, as of the ſame country with her, and that ſhe might rather die, than be delivered up to the pride of the Romans. This he not only promiſed; but, charmed with her looks and behaviour, married her himſelf the ſame day. Scipio highly offended at this, reproved him for it; and he knowing his dependence muſt be wholly on the Romans, to be as juſt to his bride as lay in his power, and to keep his word to her, ſent her a bowl of poiſon with a proper meſſage, which ſhe bravely took, and, as ſhe deſired, died free. This is all related by Livy, *lib.* 29. Maſſiniſſa, by the favour of the Romans, greatly enlarged his dominions. He reigned 60 years; was always faithful to the Romans, and left this younger Scipio his executor. *Liv. lib.* 50. *Epit.*

then,

then, if ſome old men labour under weakneſs, ſince the youngeſt, we ſee, cannot eſcape it? We muſt prepare ourſelves, my friends, againſt old age; and as it is advancing, endeavour by our diligence to mitigate and correct the natural infirmities that attend it: we muſt uſe proper preſervatives, as we do againſt diſeaſes; great care muſt, in the firſt place, be taken of our health; all bodily exerciſe muſt be moderate, and eſpecially our diet; which ought to be of ſuch a kind, and in ſuch proportion, as may refreſh and ſtrengthen nature, without oppreſſing it. Nor muſt our care be confined to our bodies only; for the mind requires much more, which without it will not only decay, but our underſtanding will as certainly die away in old age, as a lamp not duly ſupplied with oil. The body, we know, when over-laboured, becomes heavy, and, as it were, jaded; but 'tis exerciſe alone that ſupports the ſpirits, and keeps the mind in vigour. Hence it is, that you ſee old men diſadvantageouſly repreſented by Cæci-

lius, and other comic poets on the ſtage, when the characters of weak and credulous, or diſſolute old fellows, are expoſed to contempt and ridicule: but theſe are the vices only of ſuch as, when grey with years, abandon themſelves to idleneſs and extravagance, and not of old age itſelf. For as wantonneſs and looſe deſires are more peculiar to youth than to the aged; and yet not to all youth, but to ſuch only as are by nature viciouſly inclined, or have been looſely educated; ſo that ſilly dotiſhneſs, that is imputed to old age, will be found only in perſons of weak and abject ſpirits. *Appius had four ſtout ſons, and five daughters; yet tho' he was very old, and blind beſides, he was able not only to govern that great family, but alſo to manage his large dependencies of clients: he kept his mind ever intent upon his affairs, without flagging or bending under his age, and maintained not only an authority, but a command over his people: his ſer-

* Appius Claudius Cœcus, mentioned before. See note 28.

vants

vants ſtood in awe of him; his children revered him, and they all loved him; and that whole family conſtantly kept up to the ſober and ſtrict diſcipline derived to them by ſucceſſion from their anceſtors. Thus old age is ever honourable, where it takes care to ſupport its proper rights, and gives them not weakly away, but aſſerts them to the laſt. For, as we commend ſuch youths, as ſhew ſomething of the ſolidity of age; ſo we do the ſame by the aged, who expreſs the livelineſs of youth: and whoever purſues this method, tho' he may become old and decayed in body, will never be ſo in mind, nor be found ſo in his underſtanding. I am now on the ſeventh book of my *Origines*, (59) wherein I am collecting all the monuments

(59) Cato's Origines was a work much eſteemed by the Romans, but it is loſt to us. C. Nepos informs us, that its firſt book contained the actions of the people of Rome, (probably to the time of the firſt Punic or Carthaginian war) the 2d and 3d gave the origin or firſt riſe of all the cities of Italy; the 4th was the hiſtory of the firſt Punic war; the 5th gave the ſecond, which was in his own time: in the following he related

ments of antiquity of every kind. I am alſo making out thoſe orations, that I formerly delivered in pleading the ſeveral cauſes I defended. I am further treating of the civil law, and of that of the Augurs and Pontiffs. I read much Greek, and, agreeable to the Pythagorean precept, the better to exerciſe my memory, I recollect at night what I have heard, ſaid or done in the day. Theſe are the methods I purſue to keep my mind employed; and while with a conſtant and aſſiduous application I continue theſe exerciſes, I cannot ſay I am ſenſible of any want of ſtrength. I am ſtill able to ſerve my friends; I come duly to the ſenate, and there propoſe ſuch matters of weight, as I have long pondered and digeſted; and I ſupport what I propoſe with arguments, to which bodily ſtrength can contribute nothing. And

their other wars, till the conqueſt of Luſitania, now Portugal: which I judge to have been the conqueſt mentioned by Livy, *lib.* 41. *c.* 11. for which L. Poſthumius triumphed about 20 years before this diſcourſe; for I find Sergius Galba, whom Nepos names, nowhere mentioned in relation to theſe wars.

if for want of a competent ſhare of that ſtrength, I ſhould be rendered uncapable of all this; yet I could pleaſe myſelf, even on my couch, with running them over in my thoughts. And whoever will purſue the ſame methods, and practiſe thus, will ſcarce be ſenſible of the advances of old age, but gradually ſliding on, and inſenſibly decaying, without any ſudden changes, will at laſt drop like ripe fruit, or go off like an expiring light.

The third charge againſt old age was, that it is (they ſay) inſenſible to pleaſure, and the enjoyments ariſing from the gratifications of the ſenſes. And a moſt bleſſed and heavenly effect it truly is, if it eaſes of what in youth was the ſoreſt and cruelleſt plague of life Pray liſten, my good friends, to an old diſcourſe of (60) Archytas the Tarentine,

(60) Archytas, of Tarentum, was of Pythagoras's ſchool, contemporary with Plato, whoſe life he ſaved when Dionyſius, the tyrant of Syracuſe, intended, for ſome free diſcourſe, to put him to death. He governed

tine, a great and excellent man in his time, which I learned when I was but young myſelf, at Tarentum, under Fabius Maximus, at the time he recovered that place. "The greateſt curſe, the heavieſt plague, ſaid he, derived on man from nature, is bodily pleaſure, when the paſſions are indulged, and ſtrong inordinate deſires are raiſed and ſet in motion for obtaining it. For this have men betrayed their country; for this have ſtates and governments been plunged in ruin; for this have treacherous coreſpondencies been held with public enemies: in ſhort there is no miſchief ſo horrid, no villainy ſo execrable, that this will not prompt to penetrate. And as adultery, and all the crimes of that tribe, are the natural effects of it; ſo of

the Tarentines, and ſeven times commanded their and their confederates armies. He was a great mathematician and mechanic, and made a wooden pigeon that would by ſprings fly about in the air. *A. Gellius, lib.* 10. 12. Diog. Laertius, Strabo, Suidas, Ælian, Athenæus, ſpeak of him. Horace remembers him alſo, in that ode, beginning with,

Te maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ
Menſorem cohibent Archyta---Lib. 1. *Od.* 28.

courſe

courſe are all the fatal conſequences that enſue on them. 'Tis owned, that the moſt noble and excellent gift of heaven to man, is his reaſon: and 'tis as ſure, that of all the enemies reaſon has to engage with, pleaſure is the moſt capital, and the moſt pernicious: for where its great incentive, luſt, prevails, temperance can have no place; nor under the dominion of pleaſure, can virtue poſſibly ſubſiſt. That this might appear more plain, he deſired his hearers to form to themſelves the idea of a perſon in the higheſt raptures, enjoying the moſt exquiſite pleaſures that could be conceived; and then try whether they could ſo much as imagine, ſuch a perſon in that ſtate of enjoyment, capable of reflection, or making any more uſe of his reaſon, than if he were entirely diveſted of it. He therefore inſiſted, that nothing was more deteſtable, nothing more directly deſtructive to the dignity of man, than the purſuit of bodily pleaſure, which it is impoſſible to indulge to a height, and for a continuance, without damping or

extinguiſhing all the brighter faculties of the ſoul, and all the powers and light of the underſtanding. This diſcourſe our hoſt Nearchus of Tarentum, who had continued firm in the Roman intereſt after that city was betrayed to Annibal, ſaid, Archytas had uſed to Caius Pontius the Samnite, the father of Pontius (61) who beat our conſuls Spurius Poſt-

(61) This was in the year of Rome 433. The ſtory is ſo remarkable, and may be ſo uſefully applied, that it is well worth knowing. The Samnites were the tougheſt enemies the Romans had to deal with in Italy. They had been at war with them at times for 30 years; and now reſolving, if poſſible, intirely to ſubdue them, the two conſuls here named, led the better part of the forces of Rome againſt them. Pontius uſed means to deceive and decoy them, till they unwarily marched into a vale, ſurrounded on all ſides, but at two defiles, with thick unpaſſable foreſts and mountains, and coming to the out-let, they found it cloſed up with vaſt trees and ſtones heaped together by the Samnite army, who, much contrary to the falſe informations, artfully given the Roman conſuls by ſuborned ſhepherds, were there watching their enemy; and when they would have returned by the way they came in, they found that entrance in the ſame condition with the other. The Romans thus ſhut up, and in a manner beſieged, could find no poſſible means of extricating themſelves, or to prevent their ſtarving. The Samnite general Pontius having them at this diſadvantage, ſent to his father Herennius Pontius, who was in great repute for his virtue and wiſdom, for his advice what he

Poſthumius and Titus Veturius at Caudium; that their old men had handed down the re-

ſhould do with the enemy then in his power. The father adviſed his ſon to diſmiſs them honourably, and make a peace with Rome; for this generous action would for ever engage the friendſhip of the Romans. The ſon could not think of intirely giving up ſuch an advantage, and therefore ſent to his father again, deſiring him to conſider further of it. He then adviſed the general to put them all to the ſword for by this, Rome would for a long time be ſo weakened, that their neighbours might for that time at leaſt live in peace. This laſt advice the ſon thought too cruel, and, by the advice of the army, ſending for his father, prayed his preſence; who being very old, to oblige his ſon, came to the camp in a waggon, and there ſupported both parts of his advice with reaſons, ſaid he knew no medium, and returned. But the ſon, reſolving to take a middle courſe, gave all the Romans their lives; concluded articles of peace, to be confirmed by the ſenate; took hoſtages; but diſarmed them all, and obliged the whole army, with the conſuls, to paſs or creep *ſub haſtam*, under the pike; a mark of the greateſt ignominy. And thus they all returned home diſarmed, in the utmoſt confuſion; which was alſo greater in the city, than if they had been utterly defeated or deſtroyed. Poſthumius the conſul hereupon told the ſenate, they were not obliged by what he and his collegue Veturius had done; adviſed that they who ſigned the articles, might be ſent back bound to the Samnites, with the officer called a fecial, a kind of herald, to deliver them. This being done, and theſe men delivered to Pontius bound, Poſthumius ſaid, he was now no longer a Roman, but a Samnite; and having his feet at liberty, kicked the fecial officer, and ſaid, Now Rome has juſt cauſe to make war on the Samnites, ſince one

relation to them, and that Plato of Athens was preſent at the time; which is probable enough;

of thoſe people (meaning himſelf) had violated the law of nations, and abuſed a ſacred officer of the Romans. Pontius juſtly provoked at this fraud and prevarication of the Romans, in a moſt reaſonable ſpeech [as Livy, the Roman hiſtorian, himſelf gives it *lib.* 9. *c.* 11.] refuſing to receive the conſuls, highly upbraided the Romans, for their breach of faith, loudly expoſtulated with thoſe preſent, and inſiſted, that if they had any regard to juſtice, honour, or for the gods they ſwore by, they ſhould either ratify the peace made on his giving the army their lives and freedom, or they ought to return to the ſame place they had been by his favour delivered from, where their arms ſhould be all reſtored to them, to uſe again as they pleaſed. And then he ordered thoſe who were bound to be untied, and, telling them he had nothing to ſay to them, the Samnites would now inſiſt on the articles, which was all they had in exchange for the whole army of Rome; bid them go about their buſineſs. Accordingly they went home. The Romans immediately carried on the war againſt them, in which Pontius had many engagements with them; but at length, upon an intire defeat of his army, by Fabius Gurges, whom he had vanquiſhed but a little before, he was taken priſoner by him, led in triumph at Rome, 25 years after the other action, and ungenerouſly there put to death.---There is another caſe in the Roman hiſtory, exactly parallel to this; when Mancinus the conſul, being with his army caught by the Numantines in Spain, much in the ſame manner, for making a peace that diſpleaſed the ſenate, was ſent back, and in the ſame manner delivered to that people, but refuſed by them; and then by a freſh army, under the command of this great man, but ill em-

enough; for I find Plato was at Tarentum the year that (62) Lucius Æmilius and Appius Claudius were conſuls. Now this diſcourſe I repeat to you, that from hence you may learn, how much thoſe, who cannot as they ought in their ſtrength of age reſiſt the allurements of pleaſure, are afterwards obliged to their years, that cure them of their irregular inclinations they had not before the power to correct. For all voluptuouſneſs is undoubtedly an enemy to reaſon; it obſtructs wiſe counſels, blinds the underſtanding, and is in its own nature inconſiſtent with true virtue. It was with great uneaſineſs to myſelf, that when cenſor, I turned

employed, Scipio Æmilianus, they were famiſhed to death, and utterly deſtroyed; on no other pretence, than to cover the ſcandal the Romans conceived they underwent in being ſo ſhamefully beaten.

(62) There is no ſuch pair of conſuls together to be found in the Roman *faſti*. In the various readings of the text, there is, inſtead of L. Æmilius and Appius Claudius, Lucius Camillus and Publius Claudius; who truly were conſuls in the 400th year of Rome: and this well ſuits Plato's age; for he muſt then have been about 42 years.

(63) Lucius Flaminius, brother to that great man Titus Flaminius, out of the ſenate, ſeven years after he had himſelf been conſul. But I could not bear, that ſuch a ſcandalous

(63) This is touched in note 3, but it requires to be further ſpoke to. *Val. Maximus l.* 2. *c.* 9. gives the ſtory much as Cicero has it here; but Livy, the chief of the Roman hiſtorians, delivers it otherwiſe. He ſays, *lib.* 39. *c.* 42. That Lucius Q. Flaminius, going with the army into Gaul, prevailed with a noted beautiful youth (whom he calls Philip of Carthage) on great promiſes made to him, to go with him to the camp: that the lad in toying with the conſul, often uſed to upbraid him, that, to gratify him, he had loſt the pleaſure of the ſhows of gladiators [or fencers] that were then exhibiting in Rome: that as they were one evening at ſupper, and merry over their liquor, word was brought to the conſul, that a noble Boian [theſe were a people of Gaul] was come over with his children to ſubmit himſelf, and crave the protection of the Romans: that deſiring to ſee the conſul himſelf, the gentleman was called in; and while he was addreſſing himſelf to him by an interpreter, Lucius aſked his---He-Miſs, whether (ſince he complained of loſing the ſight of gladiators dying at Rome) he would be pleaſed to ſee that Gaul die there before him? That, the lad jeſtingly conſenting, Lucius taking his ſword that hung by him, roſe up and gave the man, as he was ſpeaking, a wound in the head, and then, as he endeavoured to eſcape, purſued and run him thro' the body.----Livy gives this from Cato's own ſpeech, which he ſeems to have then had by him; and blames another hiſtorian, for delivering it wrong, and only upon hear-ſay, as by this of Livy, Cicero ſeems to have done here. Plutarch tells it both ways, in the lives both of T. Flaminius and of Cato.

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inſtance of his diſſoluteneſs ſhould paſs without public cenſure. For while he as conſul commanded the army in Gaul, to pleaſe a lewd ſtrumpet he carried with him, he cauſed one of the priſoners who were under ſentence of death, to be brought in before them, and there, to gratify her in her barbarous requeſt, that ſhe might ſee a man put to death, he ſtruck off his head on the ſpot. His brother Titus being then cenſor, this was not in his time taken notice of; but when Flaccus and I ſucceeded him, we judged it incumbent on us, in diſcharge of our truſt, to exert the authority of our office, and brand with ignominy an action ſo deteſtable, that it not only involved the actor himſelf in infamy, but alſo caſt a reproach on the whole ſtate.

I have often heard our old men, who ſaid they had it from their elders, relate, that Caius Fabricius, when he was ſent embaſſador to Pyrrhus, to redeem the captives, was ſtrangely ſurprized, when (64) Cineas the ora-

orator, who attended Pyrrhus, told him, there was in Athens a great profeſſor of wiſdom,

(64) This Cineas, in ſtudying eloquence, was a hearer of the famous orator Demoſthenes of Athens, and was thought to expreſs his manner the neareſt of any of his age. He afterwards attended Pyrrhus, who ſaid of him, that he had gained more places by Cineas's eloquence, than by his own arms. Plutarch gives this fine relation of him, that ſeeing Pyrrhus bent on his expedition into Italy, [ſee notes 25, 26.] taking a proper opportunity for it; theſe Romans, ſays Cineas to Pyrrhus, are accounted a very brave people, and are ſaid to have ſubdued many valiant nations about them; ſhould it pleaſe God to grant us to conquer them, pray what are we to do next? Why then, ſaid Pyrrhus, all the reſt of Italy will lie open to us: for when once we have ſubdued Rome, no other nation there will pretend to reſiſt us; and Italy, you know, as it is a rich and large country; will be a noble acquiſition. That it would, ſaid Cineas: and pray, what are we to do next? Then, anſwered Pyrrhus, as Sicily lies cloſe by it, and now ſince Agathocles's death, is all in confuſion, we will ſtep over thither, and make that eaſily our own alſo. And ſhall we reſt there? ſaid Cineas. No, anſwered Pyrrhus; Carthage and Africa lie ſo near, and ſo tempting, that we muſt have theſe alſo; nor will it be difficult, ſince Agathocles himſelf was once ſo near taking Carthage, and with no very great force neither. And what courſe are we to take next? ſaid Cineas. Then you very well know, replied Pyrrhus, that thoſe who have hitherto given us ſo much trouble, will no longer be able to oppoſe us: we ſhall get the better of all our adverſaries. That's very probable, ſaid, Cineas, when you have made ſo many large conqueſts, you may eaſily get Macedon, and reduce all Greece to reaſon: but after all theſe mighty atchievements, pray,

wiſdom, who laid it down as his grand principle, that all we do ſhould be directed only to pleaſure; and that (65) M. Curius and (66) Titus Coruncanius hearing this from Fabricius, uſed to wiſh, that Pyrrhus and the Samnites could be converted to that (67) pro-

pray, Sir, be pleaſed to tell me what uſe we are to make of them, and what is to follow next? Why then truly, Cineas, ſaid, Pyrrhus, ſmiling, we'll ſit down, be merry and drink, and enjoy ourſelves in quiet with our friends. And if that be all, anſwered Cineas, pray, what hinders us from doing juſt the ſame, as things now ſtand? You well know, you have now, as much as you then would, all the neceſſary means for this, in your power; and you may be as merry, as quiet, and enjoy your friends as much as you will ever be able to do, after all the vaſt fatigues and hazards, and effuſion of blood, theſe undertakings muſt neceſſarily be attended with; and after, you have not only involved infinite numbers of people, who have never offended you, in all the dire calamities of war, but muſt alſo expoſe your beſt friends to numberleſs dangers.----Pyrrhus was not well pleaſed with this cloſe. He proceeded, as has been noted, to Italy; and being there diſappointed, he paſſed over into Sicily, where he was more ſo; and returning to Italy, he was there ſoundly beat by the Romans, and obliged to fly. At home in Epirus and Greece he continued reſtleſs; and at length, in Argos, had his brains beat out, by a potſheard thrown from the top of a houſe by an old woman. His life is in Plutarch, which ſee.

(65) See note 26. [(66) See note 27, and for Fabricius, note 25.

(67) Epicurus is meant here, who was then living: for Laertius ſays, he was born the 3d of the 109th Olym-

profeſſor's religion; for then it would coſt Rome much leſs trouble to maſter them. M. Curius was for ſome time contemporary with (68) Publius Decius, who five years before

Olympiad, ſeven years after Plato's death, and died in the 2d of the 127th Olympiad, in the 72d year of his age: he therefore muſt have lived nine years after Pyrrhus's expedition into Italy. Epicurus had in his own time a very ill character given him by the philoſophers of other ſects, and the ſame has thro' all ſucceeding ages ſtuck to him; but many think him much wronged. His phyſics, or opinions of nature, were groſſly abſurd in many things, but his morals that are ſo much decried, were very different from what they are generally accounted. He propoſed pleaſure, 'tis true, for the end of action; but that pleaſure was to conſiſt in the tranquility of the mind, and inward ſatisfaction, and not in voluptuous enjoyments: for he is ſaid to have been perfectly temperate himſelf, and that all his doctrine tended to the ſame. He wrote much, but nothing of his remains, ſave what Laertius has in his tenth book, which is wholly beſtowed on his life and doctrine. Gaſſendus explained it in ſome large volumes.

(68) Publius Decius Mus, was the firſt time conſul in the 442d year of Rome; and this 4th time, when he fell, was in the 459th. The two conſuls Quintus Fabius Maximus [there were divers from time to time of that name of the ſame family] being the 5th time conſul and this Decius (as has been noted) the 4th, were engaged in a doubtful and almoſt deſperate battle with the Gauls and Samnites; with whom two other nations, the Etrurians (or Tuſcans) and the Umbrians, were alſo at the ſame time confederates againſt Rome. When the fight had continued long, nearly equal on both ſides, and at length the Gauls made ſome impreſſion on the left wing where Decius commanded, and his men began to break and fly, nor could he by any means

before Curius was the firſt time conſul, had in his fourth conſulate devoted himſelf for the

means reſtrain them; invoking his father's name, who had bfore devoted himſelf, he called to him the pontiff that attended, to repeat to him the form to be uſed in devoting; which he took in the ſame manner his father had done, and in the ſame manner alſo the Romans got the day: for the flying forces, hearing what their general had done, rallied of themſelves, and with new ſpirits vigorouſly attacked their enemies, and bore all before them.----To devote one, is to offer him up as accurſed for an atoning ſacrifice, for the ſafety of others: and the method of it is curious enough to render it worth knowing. We have it particularly in Livy, in his account of this Decius his father devoting himſelf, [*lib.* 8. *c.* 9.] in the 414th year of Rome; and it was thus: the Romans and the Latins after a long alliance differing, they drew out equal forces and engaged. Victory inclining to neither ſide, and one of the conſuls, Decius, almoſt deſpairing of it, reſolved on a deſperate action, which he hoped might ſecure it. He called on the Pontiff who was with him, to repeat before him the ſolemn form of devoting; for he would offer himſelf up, he ſaid, for an atonement for the army. The pontiff ordered him to put on the civic gown; and covering his head, to put up his hand within his gown under his chin, and treading on a weapon, to repeat theſe words after him: "O Janus, Jupiter, fa-
"ther Mars, Quirinus, Bellona! Ye home gods, fo-
"reign gods, indigetes and lower gods, who have us
"and our enemies in your power! and ye infernal
"gods! I pray, adore and beſeech you, that you will
"make good and proſper, ſtrength and victory to the
"Roman people; and that you will confound terrify,
"and do to death the enemies of the Romans! as I
"have now conceived in words, ſo, for the public weal,
"army,

the public ſafety, Fabricius and Coruncanius living in the ſame age with him, muſt alſo have known him well. And all theſe, not only by their own conduct, ſhewed their firm perſuaſion, but they were further confirmed in it by that action of Decius, that there is ſomething truly great and excellent in its own nature worthy to be contended for, and which all good men would, in deſpite of all the allurements of pleaſure, for its own ſake purſue, and labour to obtain.

" army, legions and auxiliaries of the Roman people, " I devote, or [*accurſe*] the legions and auxiliaries of " their enemies, together with myſelf, to the infernal " gods, and to the earth." This done, he ſent notice of it to the other conſul T. Manlius. Then putting on his armour and mounting his horſe, he rode into the thickeſt of the enemy, and carried deſtruction before him, till he was cut in pieces: which was one neceſſary part of the ceremony; for without it, all the reſt would have been void. And therefore when this man's grandſon Publius Decius, being conſul with Sulpicius, in the 2d battle the Romans had with Pyrrhus; and it was reported, that he, after his grandfather's and father's example, would alſo devote himſelf; Pyrrhus apprehenſive leſt it might give ſome terror to his men, ſent word to the conſul, that he ſhould leave off fooling; for that he would take order, if he attempted it, to diſappoint him, he ſhould not fall in that manner in the field, but meet with a death leſs to his liking. He neither did, however, nor had propoſed to attempt it. Livy, *lib.* 8. and Plutarch in Pyrrhus.

Thus

Thus I judged it neceſſary to be the more full on this head of pleaſure, and ſhew the dangers of it, to the end you might clearly ſee, it is ſo far from being a diſadvantage to old age, in palling our inclinations to pleaſure, that on the contrary it is rather a great and valuable bleſſing. For if it is in a good meaſure dead to the enjoyments others find in banqueting, ſumptuous feaſts and carouſings, it is freed at the ſame time from all the troubleſome effects of theſe; as fumes, crudities, uneaſy ſleep, or the want of it; with divers other ſuch like diſorders. Yet as nature has ſo ordered it, that pleaſure ſhould have a very ſtrong hold of us, and the inclination to it appears deeply founded in our very compoſition, (and 'tis with too much juſtice that the divine Plato calls it the bait of evil, by which men are caught as fiſh with a hook;) therefore, though age is not taken, nor can well bear, with thoſe ſplendid ſumptuous feaſtings and revels, yet we are not ſo inſenſible to the pleaſures of life, but that we can indulge ourſelves, and,

and take a real delight in ſober and temperate entertainments with our friends. I remember, when I was a boy, I often ſaw (69) Caius Duillius, Marcus's ſon, who gained the firſt victory over the Carthaginians at ſea, returning home from ſupper with torches and muſic before him; a practice that he thought fit (though without any precedent for it) to continue in his private

(69 The Romans having had great ſucceſs for four years againſt the Carthaginians, in their firſt war with them, by land; but lying expoſed to them by ſea, as having no fleet, reſolved to build one; and ordered the conſuls, of whom this Duillius was one, to proceed to the work; and in ſixty days (Livy ſays) after the timber was fallen, they had [*incredible*] 160 ſhips of war compleated and at anchor: to furniſh which with men, thoſe deſigned for the ſervice, were taught all the motions and management of oars, in which, while their ſhips were building, they were exerciſed on ſhore. But finding on trial theſe ſhips much more unweildy than thoſe of their enemies; to balance this, they contrived an engine placed at their heads, by which, when cloſed in with another ſhip, they would grapple and hold her ſo faſt, that ſhe could not poſſibly get clear. They framed alſo on the engine a kind of platform to ſtand on, and enter other ſhips by it. Thus they fought at ſea, as if they had been on land, hand to hand with their enemies: and in the firſt engagement, Duillius ſunk 14 ſhips, killing 3000 men, and took 31 ſhips more with 7000 priſoners; for which he triumphed.

ſtation:

ſtation: ſo great was the pleaſure he gave himſelf, though not without ſome vanity, in keeping up the memory of that great action. But why ſhould I quote others, and not rather return and ſpeak of myſelf? In my youth I had always a ſet of ſelect companions; for thoſe ſocieties or clubs now in practice, took their beginning when I was queſtor, at the time the (70) mother of the Gods

(70) Commonly called *Idea mater*, the Idæan mother. In the 549th year of Rome, a little before Annibal left Italy, the Roman armies were ſeized with ſo violent a ſickneſs, that they were in danger of being all loſt; nor were the Carthaginians clear from it: and about the ſame time dreadful prodigies from the heavens were ſeen, as raining ſtones (of which we hear ſo often in their hiſtory, that we may reaſonably believe they muſt have meant nothing but large hail by it; for they accounted even great thunder-ſtorms a denunciation of the anger of their gods.) Thoſe who had the Sibylls books in keeping, conſulting them on theſe calamities, ſaid, they found an oracle there, declaring, that when a foreign enemy ſhould invade Italy, the country might be delivered from them, if the Idæan mother were brought from Peſſinus to Rome. This was a place in Phrygia in Aſia Minor. And for this the Romans fitted out five large ſhips, with a ſolemn embaſſy to Attalus, the king of thoſe parts, to requeſt the favour. They took the oracle of Delphi in their way, to conſult that alſo, and know their ſucceſs:

gods was brought to Rome. My friends and I then had our meetings and collations duly; but theſe were always moderate, tho' it was at an age when our blood was warm, which inevitably cools as years come on. Nor did I ever meaſure my pleaſure in thoſe entertainments by any ſenſual gratifications whatever, but ſolely by the converſation or diſcourſes we held on various ſubjects. For our anceſtors very wiſely called thoſe meetings

the anſwer was favourable, further telling them, "The worthieſt man of Rome muſt be appointed to receive the goddeſs into the city." Attalus, to oblige the Romans, tho' they had then no intercourſe with Aſia, granted their requeſt; and ſhewed them a great ſtone, which the inhabitants called by that name: and they brought her divinity to the river Tiber, where Scipio Naſſica was appointed, as the beſt man in Rome, to receive her. Thus Livy, b. 29. c. 10, &c. Herodian, who wrote the hiſtory of the reigns of ten emperors, about the year of Chriſt 240, in the life of Commodus, tells a long ſtory of that goddeſs, and the devotion yearly paid her at Rome: He ſays, the image was framed by no mortal hands, but ſent down from heaven by Jupiter; that the ſhip that brought her, ſticking faſt in the river Tiber, a veſtal virgin, who was accuſed of unchaſtity, to prove her innocence, hawled the ſhip along, only by her girdle. But Livy writing the hiſtory of the time, ſays nothing of this: for miracles are often beſt known ſome centuries after they are ſaid to have been wrought.

tings of friends to eat and drink together, by the name of *Convivium*, or living-together; as if ſociety were the deſign of them: a term much more proper than that of the Greeks, whoſe name for them imports nothing but eating and drinking together; as if they preferred that part of the entertainment, which is truly in itſelf the leaſt valuable.

In ſuch regular entertainments, when ſeaſonable, I own, I have always, in view of what I have mentioned, taken a ſenſible pleaſure: nor do I chooſe for my companions only perſons about my own age; for of theſe there are now very few left; but thoſe alſo of yours. And I think myſelf much obliged to my age, that it has increaſed my inclination for diſcourſe and converſation, and rendered the buſineſs of eating and drinking a matter ſtill of more indifferency to me. Yet where others take a pleaſure even in theſe, that I may not be thought to declare war againſt all gratifications of ſenſe,

as nature requires refreſhment, and old age is not without its reliſh; I think ſuch entertainments even for the ſake of good cheer, ſo far as this is comfortable to nature, are very allowable, and may ſometimes be indulged, when duly limited within the bounds of moderation. But what now gives me the greateſt pleaſure in theſe caſes, is to practiſe the method inſtituded by our anceſtors, that is, that the converſation ſhould turn on ſubjects propoſed by the maſter of the feaſt, and that the cups ſhould be moderate and cooling, in a cool and ſhady place in ſummer, as in that of (71) Xenophon; or in the ſun, or, if colder, by a good fire, in winter: the method that I now practiſe amongſt my Sabine neighbours, whom I frequently meet on ſuch occaſions, and ſpend a good part of the night with them.* But to return

(71) In Xenophon's works there is a tract called the Sympoſion, or feaſt, conſiſting of the pleaſant diſcourſes of the gueſts; which is more natural than that of Plato's.

* 'Tis ſaid of Old Cato, that he could be free enough ſometimes with the creature: hence *Horace, l.* 3. *Ode* 21. *Nai-*

return to the charge. It is alledged that old age is not ſenſible to that titillation of pleaſure, that is found in the other parts of life; which is certainly true: but at the ſame time it has this great advantage to balance it, that it does not ſo much as wiſh to have it. Sophocles ſaid well, who, when he was aſked at a great age, whether he had yet any acquaintance with Venus, anſwered, Heavens forbid! I thank the gods I am got rid of that tyranny. Such as are addicted to thoſe pleaſures, will think it hard to be debarred of them; but others, who have gone through, and are paſt them, find themſelves happier in being deprived of the inclination. Nor can any one be ſaid to want, what he does not ſo much as wiſh for. And this ſtate, I ſay, of not deſiring, is preferable in itſelf even to that of enjoying. 'Tis true, that men in their prime have a greater guſt to all pleaſures; but then moſt of theſe are,

Narratur et priſci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluiſſe virtus.
Old Cato would, 'tis ſaid, with wine
Make his reverend face to ſhine.

in the firſt place, but mean in themſelves; and in the next, if old men have not the ſame to ſuch a height, they either deſire them not all, or they have a competent ſhare of ſuch as are fit for them. As thoſe, perhaps, who ſit in the pit at the theatre, have more of the pleaſure in ſeeing (72) Turpio Ambivius act, than ſuch as ſit at a greater diſtance in the galleries; yet theſe laſt, though they have leſs, are not wholly without theirs: ſo youth, as it has a nearer communication, and livelier reliſh for pleaſure, may be more powerfully affected with it; yet thoſe, whoſe age has diſtanced them from the gayer ſcenes of it, have their ſhare of delight, and enjoy as much of it, at leaſt, as they crave or wiſh for. For how ſolid, how ſincere, think you, muſt that pleaſure be to the mind, when, after it has happily worked through the ruffling tides of thoſe uneaſy paſſions, luſt, am-

(72) Turpio Ambivius was a famous actor in Rome, about the 590th year of the city. He is mentioned in what is called the Dideſcalia, of four of the ſix comedies we have of Terence, to have been the principal actor of them.

bition,

bition, emulation, contention, and every ſtrong impetuous deſire, it finds itſelf arrived at its harbour, and like a veteran diſcharged from the fatigues of war, got home, and retired within itſelf into a ſtate of tranquility? But if it has the further advantage of literature and ſcience, and can by that means feed on, or divert itſelf with ſome uſeful or amuſing ſtudy, no condition can be imagined more happy than ſuch calm enjoyments, in the leiſure and quiet of old age. How warm did we ſee (73) Gallus, your father's in-

(73) Caius Sulpicius Gallus, the firſt of the Romans [Pliny ſays, *lib.* 2. *c.* 12.] who applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſtars, in which he was very famous. Being *tribunus militum* in the army commanded by Paulus Æmilius, the day before the great battle, in which Perſeus, king of Macedon, was defeated, and his kingdom thereupon made a province, [ſee note 24] he gave public notice to the army, that the enſuing evening the moon would be eclipſed and darkened from the 2d to the 4th hour, [that was then, from near 10 to near 12 at night in our account] and as this could be foretold, by the knowledge only of the courſe and motions of the ſun and moon, they ſhould not therefore be ſurpriſed at it, or account it a prodigy. But the Macedonians, it ſeems, were not ſo happy, as to have ſuch a ſkilful adviſer amongſt them; for the eclipſe happened accordingly, and the Greeks were much terrified. Li-

intimate friend, Scipio, in purſuit of his aſtronomical ſtudies to the laſt? How often did the riſing ſun ſurprize him, fixed on a calculation he began over night? And how often the evening, on what he had begun in the morning? What a vaſt pleaſure did it give him, when he could foretell to us, when we ſhould ſee the ſun or moon in an eclipſe? And how many others have we known in their old age delighting themſelves in other ſtudies? which, though of leſs depth than thoſe of Gallus, yet muſt be allowed to be in themſelves ingenious and commendable? How pleaſed was (74) Nævius with his poem of the Punic war? And how (75) Plautus,

vy, who [*lib.* 44. *c.* 37.] relates this, ſays, it was the night before the 4th of September, which both Calviſius and Petavius having calculated, find to have fallen on the 21ſt of June, 168 years before Chriſt, according to our preſent account; for the Roman calendar was at that time, for the reaſons given by Cenſorinus [*cap.* 20.] exceedingly perplexed and uncertain, till Julius Cæſar in his 3d conſulate, being then alſo Pontifex Maximus, 45 years before Chriſt, regulated it, and eſtabliſhed our preſent Julian account. This Sulpicius Gallus, two years after that battle, was conſul himſelf and Paulus Æmilius, the conſul and general in it, natural father to this Scipio [ſee note 24] was his great friend.

(74) Cneius Nævius, ſee note 30.

tus with his Truculentus and Pſeudolus? I remember even old Livius,* who had his firſt dramatic piece acted ſix years before I was born, in the conſulſhip of Cento and Tuditanus, and continued his compoſitions till I was grown up towards the ſtate of manhood. What need I mention (76) Licinius Craſſus's ſtudies in the pontificial and civil law? Or thoſe of Publius Scipio,* now lately made ſupreme pontiff? And all theſe I have ſeen, not only diverting themſelves in old age, but eagerly purſuing the ſeveral ſtudies they affected. With what unwearied diligence did we behold (77) Marcus,

(75) Marcus Accius Plautus; we have 20 of his comedies ſtill extant, and amongſt them, thoſe two here named.

† Livius Andronicus was the firſt Roman poet, mentioned by their writers: there is nothing of his remaining, but a few ſhort fragments from the quotations of grammarians; according to Cicero in *Tuſc. Quæſt. lib.* 1. as alſo in his Brutus. He acted that firſt piece in the 512th year of Rome, 240 years before Chriſt.

(76) The ſame with Publius Craſſus mentioned before. See note 49.

* Scipio Naſſica, ſee note 70.

(77) Marcus Cethegus is mentioned by Cicero in his Brutus, or book *de claris oratoribus*, as the firſt orator amongſt the Romans worth notice, or that bore that

cus Cethegus, whom Ennius juſtly enough called the ſoul of perſuaſion, applying himſelf at a great age to oratory, and the practice of pleading? Upon all which let me aſk you, what gratifications of ſenſe, what voluptuous enjoyments in feaſting, wine, women or play, and the like, are to be compared with thoſe noble entertainments? Thoſe pure and ſerene pleaſures of the mind, the rational fruits of knowledge and learning, that grafted on a good natural diſpoſition, cultivated by a liberal education, and trained up in prudence and virtue, are ſo far from being palled in old age, that they rather continually improve, and grow on the poſſeſſor. Excellent therefore was that expreſſion of Solon, which I mentioned before, when he ſaid, *that daily learning ſomething, he grew old:* for the pleaſures ariſing from ſuch a courſe

that character: and his name was the more famous for the honourable mention Ennius made of him in his annals, ſome of whoſe verſes Cicero there quotes, and ſays, he was conſul 9 years before Cato, that is, in the 550th year of Rome, 204 years before Chriſt, the 15th of the ſecond Punic war.

courſe, namely thoſe of the mind, muſt be allowed incomparably to exceed all others.

But I am now come to ſpeak to the pleaſures of a country life, with which I am infinitely delighted. To theſe old age never is an obſtruction. It is the life of nature, and appears to me the exacteſt plan of that which a wiſe man ought to lead. Here our whole buſineſs is with the earth, the common parent of us all, which is never found refractory, never denies what is required of it, nor fails to return back what is committed to it with advantage, ſometimes indeed with leſs, but generally with a very large intereſt. Nor is it the view of this increaſe only which yields delight, but there ariſes yet a greater from a contemplation of the powers of the earth, and vegetation: for to me it is moſt affecting to behold, how, when the ſoil is duly laboured and mellowed, and receives after harrowing the ſcattered ſeed into its genial boſom, warmed with due heats and vapours, it there cheriſhes it in its vital embraces; and then opening, ſhoots it up-

upwards, and rears it into a verdant blade; which taking faſt hold with its fibrous roots below, ſprings up into a jointed ſtalk, preparing new ſeed again in its cells, which gradually enlarges from the ear, with the grain exactly ranged in decent rows; and is ſecured with awns, to defend it from the rapine of the little birds, that would otherwiſe aſſail and make prize of it. But why ſhould I enter into particulars, or obſerve upon the firſt planting, ſhooting, and growth of the delicious vine? I ſhould never have done, if I indulged myſelf in repreſenting at large the pleaſure I take in theſe ſolaces of my old age. Nor muſt I dwell on that plaſtic power ſeen in all the productions of the earth, which from ſo ſmall a grain in the fig, or the little ſtone of a grape, or from the minute ſeeds of others, raiſes up ſuch bulky trunks with their ſhady heads and extended branches. But who can conſider the variety in the methods of propagation, by ſhoots, ſprouts, loppings, quickſets and ſlips, without being ſeized at the ſame time

with

with admiration and delight? The vine, that naturally runs low, and cannot rear itſelf without a ſupport, is for this end provided with tendrils, by which, like ſo many hands, it lays hold on every thing it meets with, that may raiſe it; and by theſe aids expands, and becomes ſo luxuriant, that to prevent its running out into uſeleſs wood, the dreſſer is obliged to prune off its ſuperfluous wandering branches: after which, from the ſtanding joints, in the enſuing ſpring, the little bud, called the gem, puſhes out the new ſhoot, whereon the tender young grape is formed; which gradually ſwelling by nouriſhment from the earth, is at firſt auſtere to the taſte, but, guarded with leaves around, that it may neither want due warmth, nor ſuffer by too ſcorching rays, it ripens by the ſun's enlivening beams, and acquires that delicious ſweetneſs and beautiful form, that equally pleaſe both the taſte and eye; and then enriches the world with that noble liquor, the advantages of which I need not name.

name. Yet it is not the ſenſe of theſe, nor of all the advantages of huſbandry, as I have ſaid, that ſo nearly affects me, as the pleaſure I find in their culture alone: ſuch as ranging the vines, and their ſupporting perches in exact and even rows, in arching and binding their tops, lopping off the woody and barren, and training and encouraging the fruitful branches, to ſupply every vacancy; and then contemplating the beauty and order with the proceſs of nature in the whole. What need I mention the pleaſure of improving the more barren grounds, and rendering them fruitful, by bringing down water in refreſhing rills, on the over-dry; and as carefully carrying it off from the wet and ſunken, or by digging, and repeatedly trenching, to render them mellow? Or of the advantages of manure, of which I treated in my (78) book of huſbandry, though the learned (79) Heſiod, amongſt his rules on

(78) This book of Cato's, *de Re Ruſtica*, is ſtill extant, and is the oldeſt book in proſe, that we have in the Latin tongue; but does no great honour to the author.

that ſubject, has not one word of it. And yet (80) Homer, whom I take to have lived ſome ages before him, makes old Laertes diverting the thoughts of his ſon Ulyſſes's abſence, by ruſtic labours and (80) dunging the fields. But beſides the pleaſures already mentioned, from corn-fields, meads and vines, there is yet a vaſt fund for others, from orchards, cattle, bees, and gardens, with the endleſs varieties of beautiful flowers, that yield an entertainment ever new and ever delighting: for in orchards there ariſes a pleaſure not only from the ranges of fruit-

(79) We have one, or as ſome account them, two ſhort books of Heſiod's, called *Works and Days*, with two others, in which, among ſome other things, he lays down ſeveral rules for huſbandry: and from theſe Virgil copies in his Georgics, but very much enlarged and far exceeded him.

(80) This ſeems to be a lapſe of memory in Cicero; for there is no ſuch paſſage in Homer, as we now have his works, as that Laertes was dunging his fields. If any where, it ſhould be in the 24th or laſt book of the *Odyſſey*. But there Spondanus, on the 226th verſe, *Liſtraonta phyton*, &c. notes, that Gifanius had obſerved this paſſage here in Cato, to be a miſtake in Cicero. Yet Cicero in his time might perhaps have read it in that ſenſe in Homer, as *koprizonta* or *kopreuonta*, dunging, inſtead of *liſtraonta* or *liſtreuota*, levelling the plants; which is indeed an odd expreſſion,

bearing

bearing trees, all anſwering to the view in juſt and exact order; but above all, from their improvement by grafting; the fineſt invention, in my opinion, in huſbandry.

I could with pleaſure further proceed in enumerating many other recreations, and delightful entertainments the country yields; but I am ſenſible I have dwelt rather too long on theſe already. You will however excuſe me, I hope, and impute it in part to the pleaſure the agreeableneſs of the ſubject yields me; and in ſome part alſo, if you pleaſe, to the talkativeneſs of old age; a fault that, I muſt acknowledge, even while I am defending it, moſt commonly attends it. But thus employed (81) Manius Curius, after he had triumphed over the Samnites and Sabines and Pyrrhus, ſpent his old age

(81) Manius Curius Detantus, for his hiſtory ſee note 26 before.---I ſhall only add here, that Plutarch [*Apopth. Rom.*] ſays, he was then boiling (others ſay roaſting) turneps for his ſupper: and *Val. Maximus*, who has the ſame ſtory [*lib.* 4. *c.* 3.] ſays, he was eating out of a wooden diſh, and that by his furniture we may judge what were his viands, *&c.*

here

here in my neighbouring farm; which as often as I view, I am ſeized with wonder, but can never ſufficiently admire, either the great moderation of the man, or the regular diſcipline of his time. Curius, as he ſat one evening by his fire-ſide, met with a tempting encounter: the Samnites, for whom he was too hard in the field, in hopes of ſoftening him, ſent him a large preſent of gold; but he with a brave diſdain rejecting it, ſent back the meſſengers with this anſwer only, that he wanted none of their gold, but thought it much more glorious to command thoſe who valued it, than to poſſeſs it himſelf. Now, could ſo great a ſoul fail, think you, of making his years eaſy to himſelf, and agreeable at any age? But to return to a country-life, that I may not quit the ſubject I am upon, I mean, my own old-age: in thoſe days the ſenators, that is, the *ſenes*, or old men of the ſtate, dwelt in the country, and lived on their farms, (82) L. Quinctius Cincinnatus was at his plow, when he was

called to take upon him the ſupreme office of dictator. This alſo was he, by whoſe command his maſter of the horſe, Servilius

(82) Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus was conſul of Rome in the 293d year of it, 459 years before Chriſt; being ſurrogated in the place of Valerius Poplicola, who was killed in recovering the Capitol from Herdonius [*Liv. l.* 3. *c.* 19.] the Romans being exceedingly preſſed by the Volſci 2 years after, and finding themſelves obliged to appoint a dictator, they choſe Quinctius, who then lived on his ſmall farm, that had conſiſted at firſt but of ſeven Roman *jugera*, which makes in the whole but about four and a half Engliſh acres; but by paying a fine for his ſon Sæſo, was reduced to four *jugera*, or two and a half acres only. On this farm the meſſenger ſent to him from the ſenate, found him at work; who deſiring him to put on his gown, that he might receive the pleaſure of the ſenate, he left his plough, and called on his wife Racilia (for her name is alſo remembered) to bring it to him; he put it on and was then ſaluted by him, dictator; an office ſo high, that it ſuperſeded all the other powers, as has been noted before. Livy, *lib.* 3. *c.* 26. purſues the ſtory, the ſum of which was this: he repaired to Rome, raiſed levies, marched againſt the enemy, who then beſieged the conſul with his army in the camp; ſubdued and made them all paſs *ſub jugo*, a mark of ſubjection; triumphed for his victory; and, having ſettled affairs, laid down that great office, which of right he might have held for 6 months, the 16th day after he entered on it. But the other part of the ſtory, of his cauſing Mælius to be put to death, was 20 years after, when in a great old age he was choſe dictator again, on purpoſe to quell that conſpiracy. Livy, b. 4. c. 13. &c. has the ſtory. Both Livy and Val. Maximus, *l.* 4. *c.* 4. have ſome fine reflections on the firſt part of this account of Cincinnatus.

Hala,

Hala, put Spurius Mælius to death, for attempting at ſovereign power, and to make himſelf abſolute in the city. So Curius, and many others of thoſe brave old men, were called from time to time off their farms, to take upon them the higheſt truſts and charges in the ſtate or war: and from hence it is, that the ſerjeants or meſſengers that wait on the ſenate, firſt had, and to this day retain their name of *viatores*, or way-men. Now, can we imagine that thoſe great men found themſelves diſtreſſed by old age, while they would thus in the country give themſelves up to all the variety of delightful employments, that the buſineſs of it either furniſhes or requires? As for me, I muſt own, I think it impoſſible that any other kind of life whatever can exceed it. For beſides that mankind cannot poſſibly ſubſiſt without it, there is not only a vaſt pleaſure derived from viewing and conſidering the particulars I have mentioned, but it alſo fills the heart with joy to behold, how by proper care and management every thing is produced in

abundance, that can be ſubſervient either to the ſupport and real neceſſities of human life, or even to the pleaſures and delectation of it, as well as what is required for the ſervice of the immortal Gods. Thoſe therefore who make pleaſure their aim, and think there is no other good in life, may here effectually find it. For can there be a greater than to ſee our labours crowned with full granaries, our cellars with wine, oil, honey, and all kind of proviſions? Our dairies with cheeſe; and plenty of pigs, kids, lambs and fowl around us? Our gardens alſo are, as the country people call it, a laſting flitch, from whence they may conſtantly cut, and it as conſtantly ſupplies them. Here alſo at ſuitable times are our labours ſeaſoned with the agreeable and innocent diverſions of hunting and fowling; to ſay nothing of the delightful proſpect of meadows in their verdure, and groves of planted trees; as well as thoſe of vines and olives that have been mentioned already. But I ſhall wind up, with obſerving, that as there is nothing more pro-

profitable, ſo there is not in nature, in my opinion, any thing more beautiful or affecting, than to behold a plantation, with all the parts of it, in complete and perfect order. And this, as I have ſaid, is a pleaſure, that old age is ſo far from being uncapable of enjoying, that it is by a kind of impulſe of nature ſolicited and drawn to it. For no where elſe can it meet with ſuch ſuitable entertainments. Here the cool ſhades and refreſhing breezes, with purling ſtreams, invite abroad to paſs the ſummer's ſultry heats; and here good rouſing fires furniſh large proviſion againſt the colder blaſts of winter. To others therefore we can freely reſign all other diverſions, in arms and horſes, with their military exerciſes, and all their accoutrements, their tennis, and every other ſport; only, if they pleaſe, they may leave us checquers and tables; or even theſe alſo we can give up; ſince old age can be very eaſy and very happy without any ſuch trifling amuſements.

All the writings of Xenophon are on many accounts highly uſeful; and I would adviſe you diligently to read them; which I doubt not but you do of yourſelves. How fully and excellently does he, in that book called his *Oeconomics*, ſet out the advantages of huſbandry and a country-life? And that you may ſee he thought no employment ſo fit for a king as this, Socrates there diſcourſing with Critobulus, tells him, that when Lyſander of Lacedemon, a perſon of great merit, went to Cyrus the younger, king of the Perſians, at Sardis, with the preſents their allies had collected; Cyrus entertaining him with great courteſy and civility, ſhewed him a garden planted with extreme elegance; in which Lyſander obſerving the beautiful forms of the trees in their ranges, exactly diſpoſed in the quincuncial order; the cleanneſs and neatneſs of the walks and borders, and the delicious fragrancy of the flowers that breathed all around their refreſhing odours; he was greatly taken with them all: but

above

above all the reſt, he ſaid, he admired the ingenuity of the man, who had deſigned, and with ſo much art and ſkill diſpoſed the whole. This is all my own doing, ſaid Cyrus; the deſign was mine, I marked and meaſured out the walks and rows, and many of the trees I planted with my own hands. Then Lyſander obſerving alſo at the ſame time the neatneſs of his perſon, and viewing his purple, with the richneſs of his attire, ſet off, after the Perſian manner, with much gold and jewels, ſaid, they may juſtly call you happy, Cyrus, ſince you are at the ſame time both good and great; your virtue and your fortune equally adorn each other. And this happineſs, I ſay again, is left for old men to enjoy; nor can age or any length of years diſable them, while they have health and ſtrength to walk, from enjoying, to their laſt period, thoſe ſweet amuſements and diverſions, that rural ſcenes, and the employments of a country life afford. We find that (83) Marcus

(83) Marcus Valerius Corvus or Corvinus. Livy, an hiſtorian of great gravity, b. 7. c. 26. tells this very odd

Marcus Corvinus lived to a hundred years and ſpent his laſt days in agriculture on his farm. Between his firſt and laſt conſulate, there were forty-ſix years; he therefore was engaged in public employments and truſts of honour the full term (84) that our anceſtors ſet

odd ſtory of him: that being a tribune of war, when the Roman army under the conſul L. Furius Camillus, was to engage that of the Gauls, a champion of that nation, remarkable both for his ſize and armour, ſtepping out, challenged the whole Roman army, to ſend out any one of their braveſt men to fight him in ſingle combat. This Valerius took the challenge, met him and had no ſooner began to engage, than a crow or raven [but *corvus* is properly a raven, tho' often rendered a crow] lighted on his helmet or head-piece, and as often as he attacked the Gaul, the bird with his bill and claws did the ſame, flying at his eyes and face; which ſo confounded the man, that he ſoon fell at Valerius's feet, and was diſpatched by him; and then it flew away to the eaſtward. Hence the victor took the name of Corvus or Corvinus, for it frequently occurs wrote both theſe ways. Val. Maximus. b. 8. c. 13. brings him as an example of one that lived to a great and happy old-age, and ſays, he lived to 100 years in vigour both of body and mind; was ſix times conſul in the ſpace of 47 years; diſcharged the greateſt truſts; kept his farm in moſt exquiſite order, and ſet a noble example both in public and private life. Pliny, *N. Hiſt.* b. 7. 48. mentions alſo his living to 100 years, and that he was 6 times conſul, a number that none beſides, except C. Marius, before the time of the emperors ever equalled.

(84) It may appear ſtrange, that in this diſcourſe, where ſo many inſtances are given of perſons who had attained

ſet for the commencement of old age. But in this, his latter days were more happy and glorious than his preceding life, that he was more illuſtrious in himſelf, and cloathed with a greater authority freed from the toil that commonly attends it: for authority I eſteem the crown and glory of old age. How conſpicuous did this appear in (85) L.

attained to a great age, and preſerved it in their vigour both of body and mind, Cato ſhould be made to place the commencement of old-age at the 46th year of life: but the author Cicero had good authority for it. His friend Varro, who always had the character of the moſt learned of all the Romans, (as Cenſorinus, *de die natali*, *c.* 14. quotes him) divided the life of man into 5 ſtages, each conſiſting of 15 years: thoſe in the firſt ſtage, he calls *pueri*, boys; in the 2d to 30 years, *adoleſcentes*, or youths; in the 3d to 45, *juvenes*, youngmen, ſo called, he ſays *a juvando*, from helping, becauſe they aſſiſted the ſtate in bearing arms; from thence to 60 he calls *ſeniores*, becauſe on entering on that ſtage, they begin *ſeneſcere*, to wax old; and from 60 to the end of life, for which he fixes no term, they are *ſenes*, or old-men. Cenſorinus goes on to ſay, that Hippocrates the phyſician divided life into 7 ſtages; the terms of which are to 7, 14, 28, 35, 42, 56, and from thence to the end: that Solon made 10, each of 7 years; to which Staſeas added 2 more, making the laſt term 84, or 12 times 7; which agrees with our preſent tables, calculated by Dr. Halley, for valuing eſtates for lives; for theſe make 85 the laſt period, beyond which no chance for living is eſtimated

(85) See note 53 before.

Cæcilius Metellus? And how in (86) Atilius Calatinus? on whom many nations agreed in conferring this great and noble character, that *he was the worthieſt man of his country*; as it is fully declared in that copy of verſes now inſcribed on his tomb, which therefore are well known. Juſtly then might he be accounted honourable and great, in whoſe praiſes the voices of all nations conſpired. How deſervedly great did the late ſupreme pontiff, *Publius Craſſus, as alſo his ſucceſ-

(86) Atilius Calatinus was conſul in the 496th year of Rome; a ſhort account of whoſe life is given by Aurelius Victor, amongſt his illuſtrious men; but there appears nothing very particular in it, worth noting here. And it is to be queſtioned, whether in all the monuments we have left us of antiquity, there can any thing be now produced that ſhould intitle him to ſo high a character: for in Freinſheimius's ſupplements to Livy, *lib.* 17. 22. there is a very diſadvantageous ſtory of him and his army, who in the firſt Punic war beſieged Mutiſtratum (now Miſtretta) in Sicily, which the inhabitants, obliging the Carthaginian garriſon, who were poſſeſſed of it, to ſurrender, or ſuffer them at leaſt to ſurrender to the Romans; theſe without mercy, and without diſtinction of ſex or age, put the greater part of thoſe inhabitants to the ſword, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. Florus, *l.* 2. *c.* 2. gives him the title of dictator, but his ſtory is obſcure. It was to ſave this army, that Calpernius Flamma, with 300 more, ſacrificed their own lives, as in note 100.

(*) See note 49.

for

ſor in the ſame dignity, (87) Marcus Lepidus, appear to us all? Why ſhould I again mention Paulus,† or Africanus,§ or Maximus?‖ Who all bore ſo great an authority with the people, that not only their opinions when declared, but even their looks and nods carried an awe with them, and in a manner commanded ſubmiſſion. Old age in a perſon graced with honours, is attended with ſuch reſpect and authority, that the ſenſe of this alone is preferable to all the pleaſures youth can enjoy.

Yet in all I have ſaid, I deſire to be underſtood to mean the old age of ſuch perſons

(87) Æmilius Lepidus was the firſt time conſul in the 567th year of Rome, 8 years after Cato; he was the ſecond time in the 579th year. He was choſen one of the pontiffs in the 556, and Pontifex Maximus about the year 571, and continued ſo near 30 years, till his death, which was about the year 602. See note 47. 'Tis noted in the argument of the 48th book of Livy, (for that and all the reſt from the 45th are loſt, but the arguments remain) that he was 6 times appointed by the cenſor's prince of the ſenate, and that he ordered his ſons at his death, that his funeral ſhould be without any pomp or charge.

(†) See notes 24 and 51.

(§) See notes 7 and 52. (‖) Note 11.

only,

only, as have in their youth laid ſolid foundations for eſteem in advancing years; for on no other terms ought we to expect it. And hence it was, that what I once ſaid in a public ſpeech, met with ſo general an applauſe, when I obſerved, that miſerable was that man's old age, who needed the help of oratory to defend him. Grey hairs and wrinkles avail nothing to confer the authority I am here ſpeaking of: It muſt be the reſult of a ſeries of good actions, and nothing but a life honourably and virtuouſly led, thro' all the advancing ſteps of it, can crown old age with this bleſſed harveſt of its paſt labours. Nor are thoſe common marks of reſpect, tho' but of little moment in themſelves, to be altogether ſlighted; ſuch as morning ſalutations; to have the way or upper-hand given; to be waited on home or from home, and to be conſulted; which, both with us and in all well-regulated ſtates, in proportion as they are more or leſs ſo, are more ſtrictly obſerved and practiſed. Lyſander of Sparta, whom I lately mentioned,

tioned, was wont to ſay, that Lacedemon was of all places the moſt honourable ſanctuary for old age: for no where in the world is a greater deference paid to years, and in no place grey hairs more reverenced and regarded. I find this alſo related, that a very old man coming into the theatre at Athens, to ſee the play, and the throng being ſo great, that he could find no room nor ſeat among his own citizens, paſſing along towards that part where the embaſſadors of Lacedemon, then preſent, were placed; they all immediately roſe up to give him a ſeat: The Athenians obſerving this, clapt, and much applauded the action; upon which one of the Spartans paſſed this juſt reflection, that the Athenians (he perceived) knew very well what was right, but they knew not how to do it. There are many good inſtitutions in our college of Augurs, and particularly in this I am now ſpeaking of, that the oldeſt man leads, and all the members deliver their opinions according to their rank in years; the ancienteſt always taking place,

not,

not only of ſuch as have been in higher poſts than themſelves, but even of thoſe, who at the time bear the ſupreme command, and are at the head of affairs in the ſtate. Now, what ſatisfaction, think you, can all the pleaſures of ſenſation taken together, yield, that will bear a compariſon with thoſe the mind muſt feel, from the returns of reverencial reſpect paid to the authority of ſuch an honourable age? Which whoever enjoys and rightly applies, ſeems to me to have well and happily performed in acting his part in the drama of life, and at laſt like an approved actor, he makes his laſt part the beſt, and quits the ſtage with an univerſal plaudit. But it is ſaid, people as they grow in years, become more peeviſh, moroſe and paſſionate; and you may add covetous too: but, as I have ſaid, theſe are the faults of the men, and not of old age. Yet ſomething of a little moroſeneſs might probably, tho' not altogether juſtly, be excuſed; for they may ſometimes be apt to think themſelves ſlighted and played on; and further, a frail body

can

can bear but little, and therefore will be the ſooner offended. But all this may by proper application be prevented or remedied: for by reflection and a watchful guard kept on the motions of the heart, natural temper may be ſweetened, and our conduct ſoftened. Of this we ſee frequent inſtances in life, and on the ſtage a remarkable one in the two brothers (88) in Terence's Adelphi. How rough and peeviſh is the one, how mild and good the other? And ſo the caſe will generally hold. Some wines ſour with age, while others grow better and richer. A gravity with ſome ſeverity is to be allowed; but by no means ill-nature. What covetouſneſs in old men can mean, I muſt own, I cannot comprehend; for can any thing be more ſenſeleſsly abſurd, than that the nearer

(88) Mitio and Demea, characters directly oppoſite in two brothers; the latter of whom ruined his own ſon by his moroſeneſs, the other by his mild treatment of his nephew, brother to that ſon, made him a fine gentleman. Terence was contemporary with Cato, and his comedy of the Adelphi was firſt acted in the year of Rome 594, by the names of the conſuls in the Didaſcalia prefixed to it.

we are to our journey's end, we ſhould ſtill lay in the more proviſion for it.

We are now come to the fourth and laſt charge, which is thought moſt nearly to affect old age, and to give the greateſt anxiety of all others, *viz.* the approach of death, which 'tis certain can be at no great diſtance. But miſerable is the caſe of that old man, who in ſo long a courſe of years, has not laid in a ſufficient proviſion againſt thoſe fears, and enabled himſelf to contemn death; which is either to be ſlighted, as being in reality nothing in itſelf, in caſe it puts an intire end to us, ſoul as well as body; or elſe, it is to be valued, and to be deſired and wiſhed for, if it leads us into another ſtate, in which we are to enjoy eternity: and between theſe there can be no medium. What then am I to fear in death, if after it, I am to have no ſenſe, and therefore can feel no pain; or otherwiſe am to become immortal in another ſtate by the change? But again, can there be any one ſo void of

ſenſe,

ſenſe, as to think himſelf ſure of living even to the next evening? Nay, youth in its greateſt vigour, is ſubject to many more caſualties, and expoſed to much greater and more frequent dangers that may ſhorten life, than old age itſelf, which is allowed to be drawn ſo near its end. Their heat of blood, and the frequent changes of heats and colds, which they undergo, render them more liable to fevers and other fits of ſickneſs, which, when they happen, bear heavieſt on the ſtrongeſt conſtitutions; nor have they generally, when ſick, the patience to be ſo carefully nurſed, as more elderly and experienced people. And from theſe and ſuch like cauſes it is, that we ſee ſo few attain to old age. But happy would it be for the world, if more lived to reach it: for as prudence and ſkill are gained by experience, and this depends on, and is enlarged by length of days; we might from greater numbers of people, grown old in ſuch experience, expect to ſee the affairs of life, both public and private, more regularly ad-

miniſtered; and indeed, without ſome ſuch, government could ſcarce ſubſiſt at all. But to return to the conſideration of death impending. How can that be accounted an unhappineſs peculiar to old age, which we well know is common, and frequently happens to the youngeſt, as well as to the old? I found by near experience, in my own (89) dear ſon, and we ſaw in the death of

(89) Cato's ſon and nameſake died prætor of the city of Rome, the ſame year that Lepidus died, as in note 87. *viz.* In the year 602; and, as it is noted in the ſame argument of Livy there mentioned, *viz.* of book 48. his father gave him but a very mean funeral, being able to afford no better, for that he was poor: [*M. P. Cato funus mortui filii, in prætura, tenuiſſimo, ut valuit (nam pauper erat) ſumptu facit.*] Which, conſidering the offices that Cato bore, and his frugality, adds not a little to his character of probity.---Plutarch gives this remarkable ſtory of young Cato, in the life of his father, that being in the army, under P. Æmilius, afterwards his father-in-law, in the great battle fought with Perſeus king of Macedon, [note 24] his ſword was ſtruck out of his hand, and he loſt it; upon which, getting together a company of young men of his acquaintance, they made ſuch an impreſſion on the enemy, that they cleared the way before them to the ſame place again, where he recovered it amongſt heaps of the ſlain: and adds, that in his time [Plutarch's, above 250 years after] Cato's letter to his ſon was extant, congratulating him on the bravery of that action.

your

your (90) two brothers, Scipio, who we expected were growing up to the higheſt honours in Rome, that no age is privileged, but death is common to all. It may however be ſaid, perhaps, that youth has room at leaſt to hope they have length of life before them, which in old men would be vain. But fooliſh is that hope: for what can be more abſurd, than to build on utter uncertainties, and account on that for ſure, which probably may never happen? And to what is alledged, that the old man has no room left for hope, I ſay, juſt ſo much the happier is his condition, than that of the young; becauſe, he has already attained, and is ſure of what the other only wiſhes and hopes for: the one wiſhes to live long, the other is at the end of that wiſh, he has got it; for he has lived long already. Yet Oh, good gods! What is it in life, that

(90) See note 24.---Theſe were brothers to Scipio, but by half blood, *viz.* the ſons of Paulus Æmilius by his 2d wife, as Scipio was born of his firſt.

can be ſaid to be of long duration? Though we ſhould hold it to the utmoſt extent of age, or admit we ſhould live the days of that (91) Tarteſſian king, (for I have read that one (*) Arganthonius, reigned at Cadiz, four-ſcore years, and lived to a hundred and twenty) yet in my opinion nothing can properly be termed laſting, that that has a certain period fixed: for when that is once come, all the paſt is over and

(91) Tarteſſus, a city on the north ſide of the river Bœtis, now Guadalquivar, or the river of Sevil in Spain, and near the mouth of it; ſuppoſed by ſome to be the Tarſhiſh that Solomon ſent his ſhips to; the Phœnicians his neighbours were the firſt ('tis ſaid) who ſailed thither, where they found ſilver in ſuch plenty, and got ſo much of it in exchange for their goods, that they could not carry it off, Ariſtotle ſays, but, to have the more of it, they threw away their anchors, to make others of that metal: but this is in his book of wonderful ſtories, and therefore may be more ſtrange than true. The Phoceans, a Greek colony in Ionia, were the next who ſailed thither, in the time of this (*) Arganthonius, who was exceeding kind to them, inviting them to ſtay with him, and when they excuſed themſelves, he gave them money enough to wall in their town againſt the Medes, who were then invading them. Herodotus gives the ſtory of Arganthonius and the Phoceans, *l.* 1. *c.* 163. The learned Bochart derives his name from two Phœnician words, *Arc-antho*, long-lived. *Canaan*, *c.* 34.

gone;

gone; and in the buſineſs of life, when that is run out, nothing remains to us, but what reſults from paſt good and virtuous actions. The hours, and days, and months, and years, all ſlide away, nor can the paſt time ever more return, or what is to follow be fore-known. We ought all to be content with the time and portion aſſigned us. No man expects of any one actor on the theatre, that he ſhould perform all the parts of the piece himſelf: one role only is committed to him, and whatever that be, if he acts it well, he is applauded. In the ſame manner, it is not the part of a wiſe man to deſire to be buſy in theſe ſcenes to the laſt plaudit. A ſhort term may be long enough to live it well and honourably; and if you hold it longer, when paſt the firſt ſtages, you ought no more to grieve that they are over, than the huſbandman repines that the ſpring is paſt, and the ſummer heats come on; or after theſe, the more ſickly autumn. The ſpring repreſents youth, and ſhews what fruits may be expected,; the following ſeaſons are for ripening and ga-

thering in thoſe fruits: and the beſt fruits of old age are, as I have repeatedly ſaid, the recollecting, and, as it were, feeding on the remembrance of that train and ſtore of good and virtuous deeds, of which, in the courſe of life, we laid in a kind of proviſion for this ſeaſon. But further we are to conſider, that as all we enjoy is from nature, whatever proceeds from, or is conformable to the eſtabliſhed laws of this, muſt in itſelf be good. Now, can any thing be more agreeable to thoſe laws, than that people in old age ſhould die, ſince, more inconſiſtently with the order of nature, we find the ſame thing happens to youth, even in the prime of their years? But the difference is great; for young men ſeem to be forced from life, as fires are extinguiſhed by great quantities of water thrown on them; when on the contrary, old men expire of themſelves, like a flame when all its fuel is ſpent. And as unripe fruit requires ſome force to part it from its native bough; but when come to full maturity, it drops of itſelf, without any hand to touch it:

it: ſo young people die, by ſomething violent or unnatural; but the old, by meer ripeneſs. The thoughts of which to me, are now become ſo agreeable, that the nearer I draw to my end, it ſeems like diſcovering the land at ſea, that, after the toſſings of a tedious and ſtormy voyage, will yield me a ſafe and quiet harbour.

All other ſtages of life have their firſt periods, at which they change into the next ſucceeding; but old age has no certain limits; it may end ſooner or later. All we have to do, is to live it well while it laſts, and do our beſt to diſcharge the reſpective duties of our ſtation, with a juſt contempt of death, that, come when it will, we may without ſurprize be prepared for it. And this will give old age more courage and reſolution, than even youth itſelf, in its higheſt vigour can pretend to. On this was (92) Solon's

(92) Solon, ſee note 45. It is there ſaid, his diſcourſe with Crœſus, king of Lydia, is well known: but

anſwer to Piſiſtratus grounded, who, when aſked by that (93) tyrant, on what foundation

but the moral of it is ſo good and ſuitable to this diſcourſe, that it may properly come in here. Plutarch, in his life of Solon, ſays, he was ſent for by Crœſus; but Herodotus with more probability, ſays, that abſenting himſelf from Athens, after he had given them his body of laws, and travelling into Egypt, in his return from thence thro' Aſia Minor, he took Sardis, where Crœſus had his royal ſeat, in his way. Crœſus was that time accounted the richeſt king then known, and gloried much in his magnificence, of which he was deſirous Solon (whoſe fame had reached thoſe parts) ſhould be a witneſs. Sending therefore for him to his palace, and cauſing his treaſures and other marks of his grandeur to be ſhewn to him, when he afterwards came into his preſence, he aſked Solon, who he thought was the happieſt man in the world? not doubting but he muſt anſwer, Crœſus himſelf. Solon ſaid, the happieſt man he had known, was one Tellus. Crœſus diſappointed in his anſwer, aſked, what prince or hero was this Tellus? Solon replied, he was an honeſt man of Athens, who lived above want, and in good repute brought up ſeveral children as reputably; then being called to the defence of his country, ſignalized himſelf in the battle with the enemy, whom he overcame, and afterwards died fighting bravely in the ſame cauſe; for which a monument was erected in honour of his memory. Crœſus then aſked Solon, whom he allowed to be happy in the next degree? Solon ſaid, next to Tellus he had known none happier than Cleobis and Biton, two young men of Argos, who, when their mother wanted creatures to draw her in her carriage to the temple of Juno, harneſſing themſelves, ſupplied their place, and drew her 5 miles to the ſolemnity; where being arrived, and the whole aſſembly greatly admiring and applauding

dation he built his preſumption, in ſo boldly oppoſing him, anſwered, On his age. [As if

ing their dutifulneſs and affection, their mother fervently prayed the goddeſs to reward her ſons filial piety with the choiceſt bleſſings ſhe had in ſtore: and her prayers were heard; for the youths ſleeping the ſame night in the temple, never awaked again, but crowning their life with a glorious action, by the ſpecial favour of the gods, honourably ended it. Crœſus grew angry, aſked what he thought of him? Solon, in anſwer, made ſeveral fine reflections on the uncertainty of all things in human life; and concluded, that no man was to be eſteemed happy before his end was known. Upon which Crœſus diſmiſſed him with ſcorn; but afterwards had rueful occaſion to remember him. For making war on Cyrus, king of Perſia, he was defeated; then beſieged in his capital, taken priſoner, and condemned to the flames. When laid bound on the pile, he cried out with a mighty voice, "O Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus hearing him, ſtopt the execution, to know the meaning of it: Crœſus told the whole paſſage; which ſo affected Cyrus, that he not only gave him his life, but large poſſeſſions with it, and took him into favour. Herodot. *l.* 1. Plut. in Solon.

(93) The ancients called thoſe Tyrants, who took the government upon them againſt the people's conſent, without regard to their manner of adminiſtering it.--- Athens was a free ſtate, under an Archon choſen by the people, and the government popular. Piſiſtratus was a citizen, wealthy, and for many excellent qualities dear to the people; but ſecretly ambitious, which Solon diſcovered, tho' in vain: for tho' he was their lawgiver, the other was better heard, and at length gained his end by this trick. There were at that time two factions in the ſtate; the one of the inland-men, the other of the ſhore-men and citizens. Piſiſtratus being one day in the country, gave both himſelf and his mules ſome

if he ſhould ſay, you can but take my life, and of that there is now ſo little left, that it is not to be regarded.] But the moſt deſirable end of life is, when with our underſtandings clear, and our ſenſes intire, the ſame ſovereign power of nature that formed us, again diſſolves us. For, in our frame, as in all other things, ſhips, edifices, and the like, the work is beſt taken to pieces by the ſame hand that firſt put it together: and as all things with age become crazy and tender, it is then done by much the eaſieſt. Thus old people, for the little remainder of life that is left them, ſhould

ſome wounds, and driving into the city in that condition in his chariot, calling the people together, he bid them ſee how their adverſaries had uſed him, they had reſolved to murther him, and he had narrowly eſcaped with his life. The people hereupon, to ſecure him for the future, granted him a guard of fifty young men. On the foot of this grant, he added what number he thought fit; and then poſſeſſing himſelf of the citadel, he uſurped the government; yet made no change either in the magiſtracy or the laws, ſave that he made himſelf ſovereign. But he was ſoon expelled; recovered it again by a ſtranger contrivance; expelled a 2d time, reinſtated himſelf a 3d time, died poſſeſſed of it, and left it to his children, who were expelled totally by Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, to whom ſtatues in remembrance of this action were erected.

ſtand

ſtand looſe and indifferent, neither anxious to have it prolonged, nor precipitantly, or without juſt cauſe to ſhorten it; remembering the precept of Pythagoras, that no man ſhould quit his poſt, but at the command of his general, that is, of God himſelf. And in regard to thoſe we are to leave behind us, though ſome have commended Solon for ſaying—He wiſhed not to die, unmourned and unlamented by his friends; in which his ſenſe doubtleſs was, that he deſired while he lived to be loved and valued by them; yet I know not, but that of Ennius is altogether as juſt,

Let none with tears or ſighs my funeral grace:

for his meaning was, that a death crowned with immortality, ought by no means to be lamented.

Again, if we conſider the article of death, or the pain ſuppoſed to attend it, we ſhall find, that in dying there is either no pain at all,

all, or, if any, it is, eſpecially to old people, of a very ſhort continuance. And after it, there is either no ſenſe at all, (as I have ſaid) or ſuch as we have great reaſon to wiſh for. But this is a ſubject which concerns not old men alone, it is the buſineſs of the young as well as the old, to meditate on death, and to make the thoughts of it ſo familiar to them, that in every age they can deſpiſe it, and ſo guard themſelves againſt it, that it can never ſurprize them. Without this proviſion, it is impoſſible at any ſtage of life, to have the mind free and eaſy; ſince no man can be ignorant that he muſt die, nor be ſure that he may not that very day. How then can ſuch as dread death, have, under ſuch abſolute uncertainties, ſo much as one quiet minute? But I need not dwell on this head, when I reflect on our own hiſtory, and conſider, not only ſuch examples of intrepidity, and a noble contempt of death; as that of (94) Lucius Brutus,

(94) Lucius Junius Brutus got his name of Brutus (brute or ſtupid) by his counterfeiting himſelf a fool, or very

Brutus, who ſo bravely fell in defending the liberties of his country; or of the (95) two Decii, who devoting themſelves for the ſafety of it, puſhed with their horſes,

very ſilly, under the reign of Tarquin the Proud, the laſt king of the Romans. He was Tarquin's own ſiſter's ſon; but the king, his uncle, having amongſt others put his elder brother to death, and becoming, by his cruelty and injuſtice, generally odious, Junius vowed his deſtruction; and the better to conceal it, affected that appearance. He happened in riding from the camp at Ardea towards Rome, to be in company with his kinſman Tarquinius Collatinus, huſband to Lucretia, whom the king's ſon Sextus had raviſhed; when her meſſenger meeting him, brought him the melancholy account of it, Junius immediately laid hold on the occaſion, joined Collatinus the huſband, and Lucretius her father, in their revenge; and carrying the bloody knife, with which Lucretia had ſtabbed herſelf, thro' the city, incited the people to riſe, and aſſert their liberty; which they effectually did, by expelling Tarquin and all his race. Junius and Collatinus were hereupon choſe the two firſt conſuls of Rome. A conſpiracy to reſtore Tarquin was formed the ſame year, in which Junius's own two ſons were engaged. Theſe, with others, their father cauſed to be laſhed, and beheaded in public in his ſight. Tarquin then, with the Veientes, his allies, made war againſt Rome; and the two armies meeting, Aruns the king's ſon ſpying Junius at the head of that of Rome, made directly up to him; and they ſo furiouſly engaged, that each run his launce thro' the other's ſhield and body, and both died on the ſpot. And the Roman women mourned a whole year for Brutus, as the avenger of violated chaſtity. *Liv. l.* 1. & 2.

(95) See note 68 at large.

into

into the midſt of the enemy, with no other view, than to be cut to pieces; nor of (96) Marcus Atilius, who, to keep his word

(96) Marcus Atilius Regulus, being in the year 498 of Rome (256 years before Chriſt) elected the ſecond time conſul, in the place of Q. Cædicius, who was choſen for that year, but died ſoon after, embarking in the 9th year of the Romans firſt war with the Carthaginians with his colleague Lucius Manlius Vulſo, in a fleet of 330 ſhips [tho' this was but the 5th year ſince the Romans had any fleet at all, ſee note 69] and 140,000 men, each ſhip carrying about 420, engaged that of the enemy, conſiſting of 360 ſhips and 150,000 men, commanded by Hanno and Hamilcar; ſunk 30 of them, and took 63, with the loſs of 24 on their own ſide, which were all ſunk, and none taken. After this victory they invaded Africa, and beſieged and took Clupea. This year being expired, and new conſuls choſen, the ſenate ordered Manlius to return with the fleet and army, excepting 40 ſhips, 15,000 foot, and 500 horſe, to be left under the command of Regulus, during whoſe government they continued to him as pro-conſul. Regulus on receiving theſe orders, remonſtrated to the ſenate, that if he continued longer abſent from home, his farm [which conſiſted only of 7 jugera, or 4 and a half Engliſh acres] would be ruined; for that his hind or manager that he had left on it, was dead, and another had run away with his implements of huſbandry; and his wife and children would want bread. Upon which the ſenate appointed another to take care of his buſineſs, and made good the loſs of what was ſtole from him, out of the public treaſury. [*Val. Max. l.* 4. *c.* 4.] Regulus then augmenting his troops, carried on the war ſucceſsfully: but his army lying near the river Bagrada, exceedingly ſuffered by a monſtrous,

word to his enemies, returned to certain tortures and death; or of the two (97) Scipio's,

monſtrous ſerpent; which was proof againſt all their weapons, till they brought battering engines againſt it. Silius Italicus ſays, it was 100 yards in length; but Pliny calls it only 120 feet, or rather ſays, its ſkin of that length, was ſent to Rome, together with its jaw-bone, which were kept there in a temple, to the end of the Numantine war, that is, at leaſt, 120 years. Valerius Maximus, *l.* 1. *c.* 8. from a book of Livy (the 18th) now loſt, is large in the account of the army's ſufferings by it, and ſays, it was more terrible and deſtructive, than all their enemies forces. Regulus having gained ſeveral victories over the Carthaginians, was willing to make peace with them, that he might himſelf have the honour of ending the war; and the Carthaginians earneſtly deſired it, but the terms he propoſed appeared intolerable. Xanthippus with ſome mercenaries that they had ſent for, arriving ſoon after from Lacedemon, obſerving their paſt miſtakes, at their requeſt took on him the command of their army, gave Regulus battle, defeated him, and deſtroyed his whole army, then conſiſting (as Eutropius ſays) of 47,000 men, excepting 2000 that eſcaped to Clupea; killing (as he gives it) 30,000, and taking 15,000 priſoners, with Regulus himſelf, whom they ſent in chains to Carthage. The Romans, notwithſtanding this loſs, ſo vigorouſly carried on the war, that the Carthaginians five years after ſent embaſſadors to Rome, and with them Regulus himſelf, to ſue for peace, or, if they could not obtain it, at leaſt for an exchange of priſoners; taking Regulus's oath to return, if they did not ſucceed. [So ſacred was an oath by their idols held by thoſe heathens, that are now ſo little regarded, even by Chriſtian princes, as well as others.] Coming to the ſenate, Regulus behaved as a Carthaginian, whoſe

Scipio's, who, to obſtruct the paſſage of the Carthaginians, expoſed and loſt their own

ſubject he ſaid he was; but being required to give his ſentiments as a Roman, he adviſed both againſt a peace and an exchange. See Horace, book 3. ode 5. on this ſubject. His friends on the ſenate's taking his advice, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from returning with the embaſſadors, ſince he could expect nothing but the moſt cruel treatment; nor would the ſenate either encourage his return or his ſtay. But, his oath and plighted faith, he ſaid, was of more weight with him, than the fear of tortures or death. He was unmoveably fixed, refuſed to ſee his wife and children, and embarked and returned in the ſame company he came in. Upon his arrival, the Carthaginians incenſed againſt him, cauſed him, (as 'tis ſaid) to be tormented to death, by cutting off his eye-lids, placing him erect on his feet in a narrow wooden caſe drove full of ſharp ſpikes with their points towards his body; that he ſhould not lean, ſleep, or reſt, without running upon them; and expoſing him in that condition with his face turned all day to the ſun, till he expired. This account of his death, or the ſubſtance of it, we have from Cicero in another place, from Livy (*Argum.* 18. b.) Silius Italicus, Appian, Florus, Oroſius, Zonaras, and others of the ancients; and yet ſome late critics reject it, and treat it only as a fable. Palmerius (Jaques Paumier de Grantemeſnil, a very learned Frenchman) in his obſervations upon Appian, I think was the firſt who modeſtly propoſed his doubt, and gave his reaſons from Polybius's ſilence in the caſe, who, he ſays, has largely and prolixly given the hiſtory of the firſt Punic war; but chiefly from a fragment of the 24th book of Diod. Siculus, an excellent hiſtorian, recovered, with others, laſt century by Pierefc, and publiſhed by H. Valeſius, in which there is this expreſſion in

own lives; or of your grandfather (98) Lucius Paulus (Scipio) who reſolved by his

in Greek, *'oti 'e meter*, &c. *That the mother*-----of the youths (that is Regulus's wife and mother of his children) *being deeply affected with her huſband's death, and believing he died (di' ameleian) for want of care being taken of him*, cauſed [or adviſed] her ſons to treat the priſoners (Boſtar and Hamilcar that were delivered to them) with rigour: which they effectually did, by ſhutting them up together in a narrow cloſet, without victuals; ſo that Boſtar died in five days, but Hamilcar continued till the tribunes hearing of it, ſummoned the young men, and threatening them with death, for ſo highly diſhonouring the ſtate, obliged them to take due care of them; upon which, throwing all the blame on their mother, they burnt Boſtar's body (according to the Roman cuſtom) ſent his bones to Carthage to his relations, and by proper care reſtored Hamilcar to his health and ſtrength. From which paſſage in ſo faithful an hiſtorian, Palmerius concludes, that the family of the Atilii (*i. e.* of Regulus) to excuſe that barbarity, framed this ſtory of Regulus's death, which, being to the diſhonour of the nation they were at war with, and greatly hated, eaſily obtained credit, and paſſed afterwards for truth. Which indeed is not improbable. J. le Clerc, in a note on Freinſheimius's *Suppl.* to Livy, *(lib.* 18.*)* joins in this with Palmerius. But tho', for the ſake chiefly of this late diſcovery, I have already dwelt too long on it here; I cannot forbear adding, that Palmerius ought not to have ſaid, that Polybius has given the hiſtory of this war largely or prolixly *(fuſe ne dicam prolixe)* for he profeſſes to give only a ſummary account of it, as but preparatory to that of thoſe actions, with which he deſigned to begin his hiſtory: and therefore, tho' that war continued near 24 years, and was, as he himſelf ſays, the greateſt

his own death to atone for the raſhneſs of his colleague, in our ſhameful overthrow

and moſt terrible that had ever been known, (the Romans, who had not one large ſhip when it began, having loſt 700 of five banks of oars, that is, of 300 rowers each, and the Carthaginians 500 ſuch, beſides vaſt numbers of others; and, as near as I can judge, not leſs than 300,000 men on each ſide;) yet Polybius beſtows but about two thirds of his firſt book upon the whole. Livy gave it 4 books, from the 16th to the 19th incluſive; but theſe, with all the reſt of his ſecond decad, from 11 to 20, are loſt, and only the arguments ſaved. Appian's hiſtory of it is alſo loſt, and he only barely mentions it, with Regulus's death, in his beginning of that of their 3d war. Diodor. Siculus's account of it is alſo loſt; for of his 40 books we have but 15, with that fragment mentioned before, and ſome other few ſcraps. Of Polybius's 40 books, there remain but five whole, with ſome excerpts of 12 more, and ſome other fragments. Of Livy's 140 books there remain but 35, *i. e.* from 1 to 10, and from 21 to 45; but Freinſheimius has given us excellent ſupplements of the reſt. Of Appian's 24 volumes of the Roman wars there are about 8 or 9 left, for their diviſions are uncertain. So that a great part of the Roman hiſtory, and particularly of this great war, excepting what Polybius has given, as mentioned above, is to be picked out only from certain ſcattered hints in other old authors, or from epitomes, as Florus, Eutropius, Juſtin, and ſuch like: but there is nothing mentioned in any part of theſe notes, but what is taken from the original authors themſelves. When or how Boſtar and Hamilcar were taken, I find nothing, nor their captivity mentioned, but in that fragment of Diodore. They were committed to the charge of Regulus's family, as a pledge for him, as he was a captive at Carthage.

at

at Cannæ; or of (99) Marcus Marcellus, whoſe death even the moſt inveterate of our

(97) Cneius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Corn. Scipio, two brothers, ſons of Cneius C. Scipio, in the year of Rome 541, the 7th of the 2d Carthaginian war, and 212 before Chriſt, were at the head of the Roman forces in Spain, to defend their dominions and allies, and oppoſe the Carthaginians, who had three armies there, commanded by Mago, Giſgo's ſon, and Aſdrubal; which laſt reſolving to march with large reinforcements, to join his brother Annibal in Italy, by the ſame route thro' Gaul, and over the Alps that Annibal before had taken; the two Scipio's thought it incumbent on them, at any hazard to prevent him; and they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to effect it, by the help of the auxiliaries they had raiſed: theſe were 30,000 Celtiberians, on whom they chiefly relied. But the brothers dividing their forces, and ſending theſe Spaniards to march before them; Aſdrubal falling in with their leaders, found means to perſuade them to diſband, and return home. Thus denuded, they were exceedingly diſtreſſed, but by none more than Maſiniſſa, then a young man, and in the Carthaginian intereſt; who was afterwards ſo ſtanch a friend to the Romans, and particularly to Scipio Africanus, ſon to Publius, one of theſe brothers [ſee his ſtory in note 58.] Publius entering on a deſperate action, he and his whole army were cut off: And Cneius, before he knew any thing of his brother's, had much the ſame fate. Yet ſome of the Roman forces eſcaped. Marcius, a ſingle Roman knight, of no name or character before, rallied theſe, and did ſuch wonders with them, that I know nothing in the Roman hiſtory, that exceeds his actions and conduct. Livy, b. 25.

(98) Lucius Paulus Æmilius, father to L. Paulus Æmilius at note 24. He was conſul in the 537th year

our enemies thought fit to honour with a funeral. I ſay, I need not dwell on this head

of Rome, the 2d of the ſame war, with Caius Terentius Varro, a Plebeian, raiſed to that dignity by the fury of the commons and their tribunes, who exclaimed againſt all the Patrician order or nobility, as if they were fond of continuing the war. Paulus, a man of excellent conduct and great experience, finding how unequally he was mated, did all he could to temper and moderate his collegue's raſhneſs; but in vain. Annibal well knowing Varro's character, and as well how to manage him, for ſome time played him to raiſe his impatience, and then gave him battle, near the village Cannæ in Apulia, in which, Polybius ſays, 70,000 of the Roman army fell, with both the conſuls of the laſt year. Livy ſays, there were killed 21 tribunes of war, and 80 of the ſenatorial rank. Paulus having his horſe killed, was offered another after the defeat to eſcape; but, though the battle was fought againſt his advice, he diſdained to ſurvive the loſs: he choſe to die fighting; while Tarentius, whoſe raſhneſs was the cauſe of it, ſaved himſelf by flight, accompanied only with 70 horſe to Venuſia; the town where Horace 152 years after was born.

(99) Marcus Claudius Marcellus was five times conſul, the firſt in the year 532. He was a moſt excellent general, and the firſt who gave the Romans an inſtance, that Annibal could be beat. It was he who took Syracuſe, after a ſiege of three years; the great mathematician Archimedes having ſo long defended it by his aſtoniſhing engines. He was generally ſucceſsful in what he undertook, and this probably led him to the laſt action of his life, which was too raſh: for, in his 5th conſulate, in the 545th year of Rome, 208 before Chriſt, being with the army in Apulia, encamped a few miles from that of Annibal, he rode out with his

head of the contempt of death, when I reflect not only on the noble inſtances of it in ſuch great men as theſe, but even on thoſe of our (100) legions themſelves (as I have

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collegue Criſpinus, who was alſo there, and a guard of 220 horſe, to view a hill that lay between the two camps, with a deſign to poſſeſs and fortify it. But Annibal, who was never wanting for a contrivance, had placed an ambuſh of about 2000 below it. Theſe ſurrounding the conſuls, and the few that ſtayed with them (for moſt of their men fled) Marcellus, as he was courageouſly defending himſelf, was run through with a launce, and died: Criſpinus and Marcellus's ſon eſcaped grievouſly wounded. Annibal on finding his body, cauſed it (according to cuſtom) to be burnt, and ſent his bones and aſhes in a ſilver urn to his ſon, as Plutarch ſays, who has given us his life: but he quotes Valerius Maximus and Livy, for what is not to be found in their books, as we now have them; tho' we have the paſſages in both, that mention this act of humanity in Annibal, viz. Valerius Maximus, *lib.* 5. *c.* 1. and Livy, *lib.* 27. *c.* 28. for neither of them ſay any thing of ſending away the bones.

(100) Inſtances of this are to be found in Livy, particularly when A. Attilius Calatinus (mentioned in note 86) in the firſt Punic war, was leading the Roman army, from Mutiſtratum in Sicily, which they had moſt barbarouſly deſtroyed, to the ſiege of Camarina, they fell in their march into ſuch a diſadvantageous ſituation, and were ſo ſurrounded by the Carthaginian army that it appeared impoſſible for them to avoid either being all taken, or all cut to pieces, till M. Calphurnius Flamma, a tribune, with 300 men, whom he led on with theſe words, "Come, ſoldiers, let us march on and die, and by our deaths ſave the reſt of the ar-

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noted in my *Origines)* who, when the ſervice or honour of their country called, have offered their own lives as victims, and chearfully marched up to poſts, from which they knew there was no probability they ſhould ever return. Now, if young men, or thoſe in the vigour of life, and many of them not only uncultivated by learning, but meer ruſticks, who never had the opportunity of inſtruction, could ſo eaſily contemn death, ſhall old men, who have had the advantage of literature and philoſophy, be afraid of it? By living long we come to a ſatiety in all things beſides, and this ſhould na-

my," took poſſeſſion of a hill, where they alone kept the enemy ſo long employed, before they could quite vanquiſh and deſtroy them, that the main body found means to retreat. All the 300, 'tis ſaid, fell there; but Flamma was found with ſome life left, and recovered. Another inſtance was when in the war with the Samnites, P. Decius Mus, one of thoſe who devoted themſelves (as in note 68) to ſave the Roman army, acted the ſame part, but with better fortune; for their enemies were ſo aſtoniſhed at the attempt, that they both let the army retreat, and theſe people alſo eſcape. The ſtory is in Livy, *lib.* 7. *c.* 34, *&c.* and both theſe paſſages are mentioned in Manlius's ſpeech againſt redeeming the Roman captives taken at Cannæ, Livy, *lib.* 22. 60.

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turally lead us to a ſatiety of life itſelf. Children we ſee have their particular diverſions; and does youth, when paſt childhood, purſue or deſire the ſame? Youth alſo has its peculiar exerciſes; and does full manhood require theſe as before? Or has old age the ſame inclinations that prevailed in more vigorous years? We ought then to conclude, that as there is a ſucceſſion of purſuits and pleaſures in the ſeveral ſtages of life, the one dying away, as the other advances and takes place; ſo in the ſame manner are thoſe of old age to paſs off in their turn. And when this ſatiety of life has fully ripened us, we are then quietly to lie down in death, as our laſt reſting-place, where all anxiety ends, and cares and fears ſubſiſt no more.

But why ſhould I not ſpeak freely, and without reſerve communicate my whole thoughts on this ſubject; of which as I am now drawing nearer to it, I ſeem to have a

clearer ſenſe and view? I muſt ſay then, I am clearly of opinion (Scipio and Lælius) that thoſe great men, and my very good friends, your fathers, tho' dead to us, do now truly enjoy life, and ſuch a life as alone can juſtly deſerve the name. For while we are cloſed in theſe mortal frames, our bodies, we are bound down to a law of neceſſity, that obliges us with labour and pains to attend to the diſcharge of the ſeveral incumbent duties it requires. But our minds are of a heavenly original, deſcended from the bliſsful ſeats above, thruſt down and immerſed into theſe groſs habitations of the earth, a ſituation altogether unſuitable to a divine and eternal nature. But the immortal gods, I believe, thought fit to throw our immortal minds into theſe human bodies, that the earth might be peopled with inhabitants proper to contemplate and admire the beauty and order of the heavens, and the whole creation; that from this great exemplar they might form their conduct and regulate their lives,

with

with the like unerring ſteadineſs, as we ſee is unvariably purſued, not only in thoſe celeſtial motions, but thro' the whole proceſs of Nature. Nor have I been led into this belief from my own reaſonings only, but by the authority of thoſe great and exalted ſouls, the philoſophers who have lived before us. For I have heard, that Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, whom I may call our (101) countrymen; for their habitation was in Italy, and thence they had the name of the Italic ſect: I have heard, I ſay, that thoſe philoſophers laid it down as their fixed and grand principle, that our minds are an efflux or portion of the divine univerſal mind, that governs the whole. I have alſo ſeen and conſidered the (102) diſcourſe that Socrates held with his friends, the laſt day of his life, concerning the immortality of the ſoul; that

(101) They reſided in the ſouth-eaſt parts of Italy, formerly called Magna Græcia, or Great Greece, now the kingdom of Naples. The people were from Greece, and ſpoke that language.

(102) In Plato's Phædon, now in Engliſh.

great

great Socrates, who was judged by Apollo's oracle to be the wiſeſt of men. But my concluſion is thus, and I am fully perſuaded in myſelf, that a being ſo active, and ſo ſwift in thought, as to be confined by no diſtance of time or place; that treaſures up in memory ſuch multitudes and varieties of things paſt, and from theſe alſo can form a judgment of what is to enſue; that can comprehend within itſelf ſo many different ſciences and arts: ſtrike out new inventions, and by freſh diſcoveries ſtill add to what has been known: ſuch a being, I ſay, as is capable of all this, I am fully perſuaded, can never be of a mortal nature. For, as it is ever in motion, yet is not put into it by any thing extrinſic to itſelf, but it is itſelf the ſpring of all its motion; therefore, ſince it cannot depart or go out from itſelf, it muſt neceſſarily ever continue, and cannot end. Again, as it is in nature ſimple and unmixt without any compoſition of different or diſſimilar parts, it cannot therefore be

be divided; and if not divided, it cannot be diſſolved and die. This ſeems alſo to be an argument for the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, and that they were endued with knowledge, before they entered on this ſtage; that children ſo readily apprehend things altogether new to them in this life, learn many difficult arts, and take the notions of things as if they were natural to them, and they were not now learning any thing new, but were only recollecting what they had known before. Thus Plato argues.

And in Xenophon,* Cyrus the elder, in his laſt diſcourſe to his children, expreſſes himſelf thus: Do not, my dear children, imagine, that when I leave you, I ſhall be no more: for in the time I have been with you, you could never ſee my mind, but only knew by my actions, that it was lodged in this body. Be you therefore perſuaded, that tho' you no longer ſee its lodging, yet it ſtill as

* In his Cyropædia, book 8. now in Engliſh.

ſurely

ſurely exiſts as before. For even the fame and honours of illuſtrious men, could not, as we ſee they do, continue after death, unleſs, their ſouls, by their exiſtence, in ſome meaſure contributed to their duration. I never indeed could perſuade myſelf, that ſouls confined in theſe mortal bodies, can be properly ſaid to live, and that when they leave them, they die; or that they loſe all ſenſe when parted from theſe vehicles: but, on the contrary, when the mind is wholly freed from all corporeal mixture, and begins to be purified, and recover itſelf again; then, and then only, it becomes truly knowing and wiſe.----Further, when the body is diſſolved by death, it is evident what becomes of all the ſeveral parts of it; for every thing we ſee returns to the elements of which it was formed: but the mind alone is never to be ſeen, neither while it is actuating the body, nor after it leaves it.---You may further obſerve, that nothing ſo much reſembles death, as ſleep: but the ſoul in ſleep, above all other times, gives proofs of its divine nature: for when free and diſengaged

gaged from the immediate ſervice of the body, it has frequently a foreſight of things to come: from whence we may more clearly conceive what will be its ſtate, when intirely freed from this bodily priſon. Now, if the caſe be thus, you are then to conſider and honour me, as a knowing ſpirit: but if my mind ſhould alſo die with my body, let it be your care, firſt to pay all reverence to the gods, who ſupport and govern this mighty frame; and alſo, with a due and pious reſpect for my name, keep me always in your remembrance. Thus Cyrus on his death-bed.

And now, to mention ſome of our own people. No man, Scipio, ſhall ever prevail on me to believe, that either your father * Paulus, or two grandfathers * Paulus and Africanus, or * Africanus's father and his uncle, or divers other illuſtrious men, whom I need not name, would have undergone ſuch vaſt fatigues, to atchieve thoſe glorious actions which are conſecrated to the

* * * Mentioned in notes 24, 8, and 97.

remembrance

remembrance of all poſterity, if they had not clearly diſcerned, that they themſelves had an intereſt, and a kind of right and property in poſterity, by their ſtill continuing to exiſt, and to be ſharers as well as witneſſes of their fortune. Do you imagine, that even I (for as I am an old man, I muſt talk a little of myſelf;) I ſay, that I would have undertaken ſuch hazardous attempts, and undergone ſuch fatigues by day, ſuch toils by night, at home and abroad, if I had ſuppoſed the glory of my actions muſt terminate with my life, and all my ſenſe of it end with my being here? For if I had no further views, might it not have been more eligible to me, to have paſt away my days in quiet and eaſe, free from toils and care, and without labour or contention? But my ſpirit rouſing in itſelf, I know not how, had futurity always ſo much in view, as if it were aſſured, that as ſoon as it quitted this life, it would then truly live, and not before. And were it not really ſo, that our ſouls are

immortal, why is it that the greateſt of men ſo ardently aſpire to immortal glory? Or why are the wiſeſt ever the moſt eaſy and content to die, and the weak and fooliſh the moſt unwilling? Is it not, think you, becauſe the moſt knowing perceive they are going to change for a happier ſtate, of which the more ſtupid and ignorant are uncapable of being ſenſible? For my part, I have a paſſionate deſire to ſee your fathers again, whom I loved and honoured while here; and I not only long to meet thoſe I knew and loved, but thoſe illuſtrious ſouls alſo, of whom I have heard and read, and have with pleaſure mentioned them in my writings. Nor would I now, on any terms, agree to be ſtopt in my paſſage to them; no, not on condition to be reſtored to the bloom and vigour of youth again: or ſhould any heavenly power grant me the privilege of turning back, if I pleaſed, from this age to infancy, and to ſet out again from my cradle, I would abſolutely refuſe it; for as I have

now

now got well nigh to the end of my race, I ſhould be extreamly unwilling to be called back, and obliged to ſtart again. For, if we conſider things aright, what is there in life to make us fond of it? or that we can on ſolid judgment pronounce truly valuable? Or who is there, or ever has been, who has not at ſome time or other met with trouble and anxiety ſufficient to make him weary of it? This comfort however attends the thought, that the more the ſatiety grows upon us, the nearer we approach to its end. I am therefore far from being of the mind of ſome, and amongſt them we have known of men of good learning, who lament and bewail the condition of human life, as if it were a ſtate of real miſery: for I am not at all uneaſy that I came into, and have ſo far paſſed my courſe in this world; becauſe I have ſo lived in it, that I have reaſon to believe, I have been of ſome uſe to it; and when the cloſe comes, I ſhall quit life as I would an inn, and not as a real home. For nature appears

to

to me to have ordained this ſtation here for us, as a place of ſojournment, a tranſitory abode only, and not as a fixt ſettlement or permanent habitation. But, Oh, the glorious day! when freed from this troubleſome rout, this heap of confuſion and corruption below, I ſhall repair to that divine aſſembly, that heavenly congregation of ſouls! and not only to thoſe I mentioned, but alſo to my dear Cato, than whom a more virtuous ſoul was never born, nor did ever any exceed him in piety and affection. His body I committed to the funeral pile, which he, alas! ought to have lived to do by mine: yet his ſoul did not forſake me, but keeping me ſtill in view, removed to thoſe abodes, to which he knew, I was in a little time to follow. I bore the affliction indeed with the fortitude that became me, to outward view, tho' inwardly I ſeverely felt the pangs of it; but in this I have ſupported myſelf, that I knew our parting was to be neither far nor long, and

that the time is but ſhort till we ſhall happily meet again.

Now, theſe, my friends, are the means (ſince it was theſe you wanted to know) by which I make my old-age ſit eaſy and light on me; and thus I not only diſarm it of every uneaſineſs, but render it even ſweet and delightful. But if I ſhould be miſtaken in this belief, that our ſouls are immortal, I am however pleaſed and happy in my miſtake; nor while I live, ſhall it ever be in the power of man, to beat me out of an opinion, that yields me ſo ſolid a comfort, and ſo durable a ſatisfaction. And if, when dead, I ſhould (as ſome minute philoſophers imagine) be deprived of all further ſenſe, I am ſafe at leaſt in this, that thoſe blades themſelves will have no opportunity beyond the grave to laugh at me for my opinion. But whether immortal or not, or whatever is to be our future ſtate; as Nature has ſet limits to all its other productions, 'tis certainly fit our frail bodies alſo ſhould, at their proper

ſeaſon, be gathered, or drop into their grave. And as the whole courſe of life but too much reſembles a farce, of which old-age is the laſt act; when we have enough of it, 'tis moſt prudent to retire, and not to make a fatigue of what we ſhould endeavour to make only an entertainment. This is what I had to ſay of old-age; which I wiſh you alſo may live to attain, that you may from your own experience, witneſs the truth of the ſeveral things I have now delivered you in this converſation.

FINIS.